



Daily Report

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CONTENTS

11 March 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

U.S. 'Sabotaging' Chemical Weapons Talks [Bogachev]	1
No 'Softened' USSR Stance on SDI Possible [Chernyshev]	1
Soviet Delegation Presents Documents at Geneva	2
U.S. Arms Control Agency Report on Verification	2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

CSCE States Discuss Arms Reductions	3
Delegate Criticizes NATO	3
Mandate for Future Talks [Nazarenko in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Mar]	3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Further on Senators, Scientists USSR Visit	6
Meeting With Dobrynin	6
Visit to Space Center	6
TV Reports Center Visit	6
Gorbachev Receives Group	7
Senate Views Law Restricting Covert Operations	7
Reagan Comments on Disarmament in UK TV Interview	7
'No Surprises' in Super Tuesday Results [PRAVDA 10 Mar]	7

Northeast Asia

AUCCTU Delegation Continues DPRK Visit [TRUD]	8
Tours Enterprises [4 Mar]	8
Kim Il-song Receives Shalayev [5 Mar]	9
Moscow Japanese Cites Armitage Letter on Toshiba	10
Japanese Attitude Toward INF Treaty Viewed [Ovchinnikov in PRAVDA 8 Mar]	10
Dmitriyev on TASS-KYODO Poll, USSR-Japan Ties	11

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Death of SRV's Pham Hung Reported	12
Cambodia's Hun Sen Discusses Reconciliation [PRAVDA 4 Mar]	12

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan-Pakistan Peace Talks 'Bogged Down'	13
More on Envoy's Statement	13
U.S., Pakistani 'Maneuvers' [Biryukov]	13
Cordovez on Talk's 'Atmosphere'	14
Pashtun 'Concern' on Pakistani Stance	14
Commentary on 'Rifts' in Afghan Opposition [Pavlov]	15
Agreement on Afghan Port Upgrading	15
Gosplan's Malyukov Visits India	15
Seen Off by Talyzin	15
Begins Talks in New Delhi	15
Arab Envoys in Moscow Denounce Iran [Kuwait KUNA]	16

Shamir Rejects U.S. 'Plan' on Eve of Visit [Vasilyev]	16
Palestinian Solidarity Meeting Held in Moscow	16
PDRY Officials Hold 'Consultations' in Moscow	17
Briefs	17
Egyptian Patriarch Visits	17

EAST EUROPE

CPSU's Nikonov Meets BCP's Tsanov in Sofia [PRAVDA 10 Mar]	17
Zhivkov Receives Nikonov	17
Nikonov Visits Plovdiv	17
Visits Enterprises	18
Further Details on Visit [cross-reference]	18
Marshal Viktor Kulikov Visits Bulgaria [cross-reference]	18
More on Soviet Military Equipment Leaving GDR	18
SFRY-USSR Relationship Called 'Stable' [PRAVDA 9 Mar]	19
Briefs	19
Culture Protocol	19

Latin America & Caribbean

UK Concerned at Possible 'Invasion' of Falklands	19
Ortega Blames U.S. for Foiling Contra Talks	20

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses Forestry, Housing	21
Shcherbitskiy Attends Agricultural Seminar [Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 4 Mar]	21
Party Resolution on Worker Retraining Described [IZVESTIYA 26 Feb]	22
Further on Armenian-Azerbaijan Unrest	25
Plenum Resolution Summarized [Yerevan KOMMUNIST 28 Feb]	25
Armenians Return to Work [Yerevan KOMMUNIST 29 Feb]	26
More on Disturbances [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 1 Mar]	26
Sumgait Citizens Interviewed	26
Over 100 Arrested in Azerbaijan [AFP]	27
Film Shows Aftermath of Riots [AFP]	27
Results of CPSU Conference [Baku]	27
Situation in Sumgait 'Stabilized' [Baku]	28
KOMMUNIST Reports CPSU Conference [Yerevan]	28
Armenians Conduct 1-Hour Strike [DPA]	28
IZVESTIYA Reports Hijack Attempt Events	29
Procurators Discuss Restructuring	29
Importance of Leader's Personal Morality Noted [PRAVDA 27 Feb]	32
Writer Calls For Return to Spiritual Values [Gorn in PRAVDA 27 Feb]	34
Aims, Philosophy of Pamyat Attacked [Gutontov in IZVESTIYA 27 Feb]	37

Economic

Public Discusses Draft Law on Cooperatives	41
'Novel Elements' of Openness	41
IZVESTIYA Readers Indignant [Orlik in IZVESTIYA 27 Feb]	41
Aganbegyan Views Restructuring of Management [Sofia TRUD 9 Mar]	43
Job Satisfaction Survey Analyzed [Rytov in IZVESTIYA 27 Feb]	44

Scientific

Nine 'Cosmos' Satellites Launched Into Orbit	45
'Cosmos-1923' on 10 Mar	45
'Cosmos-1924' to 'Cosmos-1931'	46
Kazakh Academy of Sciences Elects New President	46

U.S. 'Sabotaging' Chemical Weapons Talks

*LD102957 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1920 GMT 10 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar TASS—TASS Observer on Military Affairs Vladimir Bogachev writes:

A week ago in Brussels, the U.S. Administration signed a declaration of the NATO Council session, according to which it obliges itself, in particular, "to make use of all opportunities" to attain an agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons on a global scale. Today, the same administration requested \$203.2 million for the development and production of binary chemical weapons.

The discussion of the complete prohibition of chemical weapons has a history stretching back more than 60 years. For practically all of these years, Washington has acted in the role of the main opponent of the elimination of toxic combat substances, and the prohibition of their production and storage. In 1925, the United States signed the Geneva protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons in war and then, on the demand of the U.S. military, refused to ratify it for 50 years. In this period, the United States accumulated enormous arsenals of toxic combat substances and made widespread use of them during the Vietnam war, literally laying waste to huge territories of that country.

The conclusion that suggests itself is that the position of the United States with regard to the prohibition of chemical weapons is determined not by the treaty obligations adopted in 1925 in Geneva, or a week ago in Brussels, but by the Pentagon's aim to acquire unilateral military advantages by using U.S. toxic substances in Europe or Asia without the risk of a chemical return strike on the territory of the aggressor. This aim, the entirely illusory nature of its premises of impunity notwithstanding, has continued up to the present to act as a brake on the attainment of an international accord on chemical weapons in Geneva.

Chemical weapons are justly regarded as one of the most repulsive and perfidious means of mass attack. At the Geneva talks, dozens of countries, including some NATO members are undertaking persistent efforts to elaborate a mutually acceptable convention outlawing toxic combat substances.

The United States assures its West German allies of its willingness to hold talks about shorter-range missiles, just as soon as progress is achieved with respect to conventional and chemical weapons. Yet the U.S. decision on the intensive production of binary weapons is creating a vicious circle. Sabotaging the talks on toxic combat substances, Washington is undermining the prospects of an agreement in other areas of arms control.

The journal DER SPIEGEL has written that during the recent visit by the West German chancellor to Washington, Ronald Reagan promised to remove U.S. chemical mines from the Palatinate—the birthplace of Helmut Kohl. Does the United States not now intend to fulfill this promise, having replaced the obsolete chemical mines with up-to-date binary munitions?

No 'Softened' USSR Stance on SDI Possible

*LD101422 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT
10 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

A rumour has been set afloat in Washington that the Soviet Union will probably lift its chief objection to SDI-related research-and-development by the United States by agreeing to the testing of components of the system in outer space.

This piece of fantasy has the author—Philip Taubman, a Moscow-based correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

He claims that the USSR has softened its stand on the Strategic Defence Initiative. The reason, he believes, is that it has become clear that the development of any efficient SDI system before the end of the century is unlikely due to technological problems.

To give more weight to what I'm saying, rather than quoting mythical persons, I have requested comment from highly placed Soviet officials—First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and Col.-Gen. Nikolay Chervov, head of a directorate in the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

They stated that THE NEW YORK TIMES allegations did not correspond to reality. The Soviet Union was firmly committed to the provision endorsed in the Soviet-American December 1987 summit statement about the need for an agreement that would oblige both the Soviet and the American side to observe the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972, including in the process of research and development and, if need be, testing allowed by the ABM Treaty.

The Soviet delegation to the Geneva talks has precisely such instructions, precisely this stance has been fixed in the Soviet draft protocol to the Soviet-American treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons, now on the negotiating table.

The Soviet side resolutely opposes any attempts to prepare the groundwork for circumventing the future treaty on strategic offensive weapons by launching the arms race in other directions.

The American plans to conduct testing in outer space in violation of the ABM Treaty cannot be assessed in the Soviet Union as anything but the subterfuge.

The Soviet stance is principled, and portraying it in a different light amounts to spreading deliberate lies.

It is no secret why certain American quarters distort the Soviet stance. Firstly, the understanding is growing in the United States, including in Congress, that the Pentagon's aspiration to break out of the ABM Treaty is the most serious obstacle in the way of an agreement on the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States.

This requires a cover, even though a false one, for the realisation of the Pentagon's plans to test SDI components in outer space.

Secondly, in connection with the start of the process of nuclear disarmament, the first step being the signing of the INF Treaty, the question of compliance with the ABM Treaty falls within a context of Soviet-American relations and the internal development of the United States in which SDI cannot but be subjected to the restraining effect of positive processes.

This is precisely what scares those who are bent on forging "space weapons."

Soviet Delegation Presents Documents at Geneva
LD101640 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 10 TASS—Today the USSR delegation parallel to the delegation of the United States presented to the Conference on Disarmament the following official documents—the texts of the Soviet-American agreement on the setting up of nuclear risk reduction centres and two protocols to it, signed in September 1987 in Washington by the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze and the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement on nuclear risk reduction centres means that a substantial step has been taken along the road of strengthening trust. But still more radical measures, first of all measures to reduce the present levels of nuclear armaments and then to fully liquidate them, are needed to solve the problem of excluding the possibility of nuclear war from the life of human society.

U.S. Arms Control Agency Report on Verification
LD101450 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 10 TASS—The U.S. intelligence community can effectively verify Soviet compliance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed at the Soviet-American summit last December, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) said in a classified report approved by the White House.

The report, THE WASHINGTON POST said, was sent Tuesday to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—one of the committees in the upper chamber of U.S. Congress, which is holding deliberations on the treaty.

The report's author Manfred Eimer, acting ACDA director, said the verification regime "will be effective in permitting us to achieve the considerable benefits offered by the treaty".

Commenting on the report's conclusions, the paper said it refuted the arguments of the treaty's critics that Soviet compliance with it could not be verified because "the intelligence community remains uncertain about the size of the Soviets' SS-20 medium-range missile force".

The Soviet Union is known to have strongly rejected speculative claims by U.S. right-wingers about the Soviet side having "hidden" 160 missiles of this kind. Relevant explanations on the matter have been given to the American side.

The Soviet Defense Ministry said that "the attempt by certain forces in the United States to sow doubts about the accuracy of the data made available by the Soviet side is deliberate disinformation".

CSCE States Discuss Arms Reductions

Delegate Criticizes NATO

LD101318 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 10 TASS—Major-General Viktor Tatarnikov, a member of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna follow-up meeting of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, spoke there today, voicing a number of considerations regarding the Brussels statement adopted by the NATO council on March 2.

He called attention to the fact that as set forth in the document the position of the NATO members on armed forces and conventional armaments was not conducive to progress with working out a mandate for future talks on those matters.

The NATO statement had made far-fetched claims about a "Soviet military threat" and a "military superiority" of the Warsaw Treaty countries and other allegations in the spirit of old thinking, Tatarnikov said.

At the same time it hadn't offered any ideas for effecting mutual cuts and eliminating imbalances and asymmetries simultaneously in the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Instead, the statement had put forward an absurd concept for unilateral reductions in the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet representative noted.

The NATO leaders, he said, would like to reduce only tanks and artillery, while leaving such destabilizing weapons categories as attack aircraft and combat helicopters, where NATO enjoyed an advantage, intact.

Besides, the NATO statement had sidestepped the main issue of key importance to completing the drafting work on the talks' mandate, namely the issue of including dual-purpose systems on the agenda of the talks.

The Soviet representative expressed concern about that NATO attitude to disarmament problems, saying it could complicate the Vienna negotiations.

Mandate for Future Talks

PM091111 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Nazarenko, candidate of military sciences: "Working Toward a Mandate on Future Talks on Reducing Conventional Arms and Armed Forces in Europe"]

[Text] The meeting of representatives of 35 CSCE states is continuing in Vienna, where a wide range of problems affecting the interests of virtually all countries on the continent is under discussion. That is to say, military-political, economic, and humanitarian problems. Within

the framework of this meeting consultations are taking place among 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on drawing up a mandate for future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Why is it necessary to hold such talks on the scale of the whole European continent?

Military confrontation between the two military-political alliances is now too great and dangerous. Two major groupings of armed forces possessing the most modern weapons systems stand face to face in Europe. Mountains of arms have already been stockpiled and the process of building up military potentials continues. To describe Europe as a powder keg is an understatement. It is a far more explosive focus of the very latest devices for destroying people.

It should be noted that even after the elimination of American intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles, NATO will still have, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, more than 4,600 nuclear charges of various kinds.

Conventional (nonnuclear) weapons are becoming no less dangerous today. Their development is about to enter a new stage, even take a qualitative leap forward. The range, accuracy, and speed of use of conventional weapons are increasing. They are close to weapons of mass destruction in terms of their effectiveness. And therefore the size of the losses and destructive consequences of armed conflicts involving modern long-range conventional systems are becoming virtually comparable with the consequences of nuclear war. Their use is particularly dangerous for Europe, with its high population density and the presence of facilities (atomic power stations, major chemical plants, hydroelectric power installations, and so forth), the destruction of which will result in the death of millions.

Aware of its responsibility to the peoples and mankind for the fate of the world and mindful of the objectively prevailing situation, in June 1986 the Warsaw Pact states proposed to all the other European countries, the United States, and Canada that armed forces and conventional arms be reduced throughout the territory of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The subsequent vigorous promotion of initiatives by the socialist countries led in February 1987 to the starting up of consultations among the "group of 23," that is to say, the representatives of the 16 NATO countries and 7 Warsaw Pact countries, the whole point of which is to eventually agree the aims and subject matter of future talks, the geographical zone of the cuts, the composition of the participants, verification measures, and other questions.

What is the present state of affairs at the consultations? What obstacles are there to a mandate? Where do the sides' stances differ?

Let us first look at the aims of the future talks. The Warsaw Pact countries consider that the mandate must reflect the idea of consolidating stability and security in Europe and establishing a balance of military potentials at a substantially reduced level. This requires first and foremost the removal of existing disparities and asymmetry on a reciprocal basis with the strictest verification and monitoring and exchange of requisite information. As M.S. Gorbachev said at a Washington press conference, "we are prepared for the most fundamental cuts."

The talks will have a practical point only if they examine questions of mutual and in-depth reductions in all components of armed forces and conventional arms so that neither side should at any time acquire military advantages.

The socialist countries' delegations attach great significance to the principles concerning the conduct of the talks. In this regard they have proposed at the consultations the following wording: "The talks will be held and agreed measures carried out on the basis of equal rights, balance, reciprocity, and identical respect for the security interests of all participating states thereby precluding the possibility of any circumvention of accords reached by compensatory measures or any other actions at variance with the aims of the talks. Here the reduction in participating states' armed forces and conventional arms will be accompanied by appropriate reductions in military expenditure." Building confidence and increasing openness and predictability in the military sphere would facilitate the implementation of the Warsaw Pact states' proposal to hold consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO to compare the two alliances' military doctrines with the aim of ensuring that they are based on defensive principles.

The West says it is in favor of reducing levels of confrontation in the sphere of conventional arms and strengthening stability and security in Europe. NATO representatives also agree that the anxiety-inducing asymmetries and imbalances must be eliminated in the process of making cuts. In actuality, however, they are seeking on various pretexts to prevent the concepts of "mutual and substantial reductions" being reflected in the aims of the future talks.

The question naturally arises as to whether the Western countries are seeking to reduce the whole business to reducing only those arms which the Warsaw Pact countries have more of and to avoiding the elimination of imbalances in those spheres where the advantage lies with NATO? If so, their scheme is patently unrealistic.

The question of the subject matter of the talks is a particularly keen one at the "group of 23" consultations. This is the key element of the mandate. Here the position

of the socialist countries has been put with absolute clarity: The armed forces, conventional arms, and military hardware of the states must be the subject matter of the talks. This definition naturally also includes so-called dual-purpose systems: Tactical strike aircraft, tactical missiles, and heavy artillery, that is to say, the broad category of modern arms making up the basic potential for a surprise attack.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community countries favor, as is well known, the complete elimination of tactical nuclear systems, which accords with the vital interests of all European countries. It is obvious that this solution of the question is possible only with the participation of the other nuclear states, and it is not our fault that they are not yet ready for it. For that reason the future talks could start by examining only the question of dual-purpose delivery vehicles. The socialist countries have, however, proposed that the nuclear component of systems (nuclear warheads, aerial bombs, and artillery shells) be made the subject of appropriate talks in the future. This approach, based on a constructive exploration of the sides' objective concerns, indicates a realistic way of achieving a compromise solution.

The problem is that the NATO countries' delegations say in this regard, albeit with varying degree of precision, that the mandate does not need to specially include a clause on dual-purpose systems. Why, they say, accord them any special status and thereby lay down in advance that this category of arms be examined as a "priority" at the talks? According to them, the West's proposed definition of the subject matter of the talks, which speaks of conventional armaments and hardware, is "all-embracing" in nature and makes it possible to raise at the talks a question about any conventional armaments, irrespective of any other properties they may possess.

This is nothing more than a ploy masking a desire to exclude dual-purpose arms from cuts and thereby keep their hands free in the sphere of the large-scale modernization of tactical nuclear weapons being planned in the West, a desire to remove, at all costs, any potential obstacle to the plans being drawn up for a so-called "compensatory" buildup of arms in Western Europe, which could lead to a new round in the arms race and destabilize the situation.

Quite a few complex problems still remain to be solved while agreeing the mandate. It is essential, for example, to define the geographical area of the cuts, which must include the European territories of all states party to the talks, including their island territories and archipelagoes.

Regarding verification measures, the Warsaw Pact countries are of a single mind: Both national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspection, must be used for purposes of verification.

The 22 February meeting in the Kremlin between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz confirmed their mutual assessment of the importance of solving the problem of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. The sides agreed to step up their efforts to draw up a mandate at the Vienna consultations. Here M.S. Gorbachev spoke pointedly about the unacceptability of the "compensation" plans, which, if carried out,

could devalue the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, and, in general, everything that has been achieved recently in the interests of international security.

This demonstrates once again that the world really needs a policy appropriate to the times.

United States & Canada

Further on Senators, Scientists USSR Visit

Meeting With Dobrynin

LD101852 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with U.S. Senators Alan Cranston (D CA), Alan Simpson (R WY), Sam Nunn (D GA), Carl Levin (D MI), and William Cohen (R NE) who are currently in Moscow at the invitation of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR.

There was an in-depth exchange of views on issues concerning Soviet-American relations, with the importance of increasing the rate of the development of these relations in the interests of strengthening strategic stability and creating an atmosphere of growing trust on the basis of reaching agreements on disarmament issues being emphasized.

Highly appreciating the results of the recent visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the United States, the participants in the meeting expressed hope that next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting might become a new important stage in the process of improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA.

In this connection, they discussed practical possibilities for stimulating talks on concluding a treaty on a 50 percent cut in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States with the observance of the ABM Treaty.

The participants in the meeting exchanged information on the course of the INF Treaty ratification process in the U.S. Senate and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting was held in a businesslike manner and in the spirit of search for ways towards mutual understanding on the issues discussed. [sentence as received]

Visit to Space Center

LD101903 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—A group of U.S. senators and scientists staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the committee of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR visited today the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Space Research Institute where they met with prominent Soviet space scientists and specialists.

Republican [as received] Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said they had learnt much new and interesting about Soviet plans in the space area.

Speaking in an interview with TASS correspondent Mikhail Svetlichny, he added: "We've had excellent discussions today on technical matters, scientific matters.

"We've heard a great deal of discussion about stability and what the definition of stability is on both sides.

"We've talked about the difficulties of verifying mobile missiles, for instance we've talked about the difficulties of verifying sea-launched cruise missiles, whether they are nuclear or conventional.

"All these subjects have been discussed, I think, in a very thorough and candid way and I believe this kind of exchanges, particularly when you have scientific and technical experts on both sides as well as people representing the policy side, are very fruitful and very constructive for the future."

"This is my third visit to the Soviet Union and by far the most meaningful in terms of discussion," Senator Nunn went on to say. "We have had good discussions yesterday with your Supreme Soviet deputies."

Speaking of prospects for the Senate ratification of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty, he said: "I believe that the general reaction in the U.S. Senate to the INF Treaty is a positive reaction and I believe that there will be efforts made on both sides—our Republicans and Democrats—to make sure that we don't have amendments that would cripple the treaty or which would render the treaty ineffective."

The U.S. senators and scientists in the afternoon today visited the Igor Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy where they were briefed on efforts to increase safety in the nuclear power industry and on research into controlled thermonuclear fusion.

They were also shown two short documentaries about the Chernobyl accident and its aftermath.

TV Reports Center Visit

LD110120 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 10 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent V. Lobachenko, identified by screen caption] A meeting took place today at the Institute of Space Research in Moscow. A visit was paid to the institute by a group of U.S. senators and scientists who are in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

[Senator Alan Cranston, identified by screen caption, in English with superimposed Russian translation] We are discussing many important problems in Moscow connected with relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Particular stress is being laid on the question of strengthening peace and disarmament. It seems to me that there is goodwill on both sides. I hope very much that our efforts will be fruitful.

[Lobachenko in English with superimposed Russian translation] And how in this connection do the prospects appear for ratification by the U.S. Senate of the first Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles?

[Cranston] I am an active supporter of the treaty, which emerged as a result of the Washington meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan. The prospects of the Senate approving it are highly favorable. I hope that we will complete the discussions on it at the end of April and beginning of May. Then the vote will take place on the Soviet-U.S. treaty. Although it has its opponents, I believe it will be ratified by a majority vote in the Senate.

[Lobachenko] What are the possibilities for the further development of relations?

[Cranston] They are currently better than ever. We can see a new thinking in the Soviet Union on many problems, and that is very important. We in the United States respond to that with a new thinking regarding Soviet-U.S. relations. The United States and Soviet Union together can do much to strengthen peace.

Gorbachev Receives Group

LD110928 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—General secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev began a meeting with a group of American senators and scientists in the Kremlin today.

The group which comprises prominent political figures, including deputy leader of the Senate Democratic majority Alan Cranston and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Sam Nunn, are in the USSR at the invitation of the committee [not further specified] of the USSR parliamentary group.

During their visit to the Soviet Union, the Americans met with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities at the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Dobrynin, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Soviet scientists and experts.

Senate Views Law Restricting Covert Operations

LD110950 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 11 TASS—President Reagan will veto any draft law of U.S. Congress restricting the right of the administration to stage covert operations. This was stated Thursday at hearings in the House Special Committee for Intelligence by U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci.

The draft law is being examined by the Senate. It is a direct consequence of the Iran-contras scandal in which the White House was involved.

One of the main provisions of the draft law makes it incumbent upon the President to inform Congress of all the covert operations of the administration within 48 hours after their beginning, including information on the details of those operations. The draft law reflected the concern and discontent of Congress over a possibility of the administration to act without proper control by-passing the laws, the way it happened during the operation with secret arms deliveries to Iran and the diversion of profits for financing Nicaraguan contras gangs.

Reagan Comments on Disarmament in UK TV Interview

LD110855 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] London March 11 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan spoke Thursday in an evening news program of the ITV Television Company. He dwelt on questions connected with nuclear disarmament and the state of East-West relations. Specifically, the head of the White House pointed out that "both sides would like to get 50 per cent reductions in weapons." The President said he firmly believed in the impermissibility of a nuclear war which "cannot be won and must never be fought." However, he supported the stand of Margaret Thatcher who insists on the preservation of nuclear weapons on the European continent and even on their modernization. Reagan again played up the "star wars" program as the main way to ensure security, describing it as a defensive weapon. In his opinion, it can inevitably "render the nuclear weapons obsolete" after its implementation.

Answering the question on what would be his special advice that he should give to his successor, he said that his advice was to "deal from strength".

'No Surprises' in Super Tuesday Results

PM101220 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition pp 1, 4

[V. Linnik report: "No Surprises on 'Super Tuesday'"]

[Text] New York, 9 Mar—Yesterday, on "Super Tuesday," as people here have christened this day, the Republicans held primary elections and party conferences in 17

states and the Democrats in 21. Among the Republicans, Vice President G. Bush secured a more than convincing victory. He now has the support of approximately 600 delegates (for nomination as presidential candidate, he needs the support of 1,357).

Among the Democrats, a leading group of three people emerged from Tuesday's results. They are M. Dukakis, A. Gore, and J. Jackson. They have 347, 331, and 337 delegates' votes respectively. As you can see, all the contenders still have a long way to go to reach the required figure, because they have to collect more than 2,000 votes.

Many questions arose on the eve of "Super Tuesday." Can Bush "knock out" Dole? Who will shoot ahead from among the four Democratic contenders? Will Gore's "Southern strategy" pay off? There were not so many answers. But that is always the case, and not only in politics.

If Dole was not knocked out, he is certainly well and truly down. If he does not manage to do well in a week's time in the Illinois state primaries, then he can be considered to have no chance of nomination as presidential candidate.

What lies behind Bush's impressive victory yesterday? First, the Republican Party's organizational base, which has been placed virtually entirely at the service of the vice president's election campaign. Second, Bush's vast financial resources, in the form of hundreds of thousands of dollars which he was able to spend on television advertising in a score of states. Third, President Reagan's continuing popularity in the U.S. South. Bush is seen as the present President's legitimate heir. And that fact was certainly a major plus for the vice president. Hitherto, those Republicans who are dissatisfied with Reagan have voted for Dole; in the South, such people were clearly in a minority.

Finally, given the large ideological similarity between Bush and Dole, the voters' decision is inevitably influenced by the contenders' personalities. Here Dole has evidently lost many voters because of the intimidating toughness of his character. Bush is a known quantity, and despite his rivals' claims that he lacks leadership qualities, the voters still prefer him at present.

In yesterday's elections, the preacher P. Robertson regularly came third in all the states, virtually squeezing out J. Kemp as a contender for the votes of the most conservative Republicans. Kemp is left with virtually only one option: to withdraw his candidacy.

The situation in the Democrats' camp remains highly contradictory, despite the elections held in 21 states. Counting "Super Tuesday," pre-election trials have already been held in 26 states, and 40 percent of the delegates to the party conventions have been elected. Yet the Democrats still have no clear leader. Commentators

here think that M. Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts, did very well in the conservative South for a liberal from the East Coast. He won, in particular, in Florida and Texas—very important states for any potential presidential candidate, because they possess a larger number of votes.

The so-called "Southern strategy" of A. Gore, who decided, going against the generally accepted canons of American politics, to let slip "two shots at goal" in Iowa and New Hampshire so as to concentrate entirely on "Super Tuesday," can be considered justified to some extent. The maneuver succeeded for Gore, and after Tuesday he entered the leading group of Democratic contenders.

The black preacher J. Jackson's success was very noteworthy, although it was expected. The irony of fate in this case is that the regional primaries in the South were at one time regarded by Southern conservatives as a means of consolidating their influence in the Democratic Party. The unintentional winner from these conservative machinations was the liberal J. Jackson, who enjoys virtually universal support among black voters. In the Southern states, as is well-known, they make up approximately one-third of voters. But it is not only the blacks. In the present campaign some 10 percent of white voters are voting for Jackson.

"Super Tuesday" brought no surprises. But that does not mean it was not interesting. The uncertainty in the Democratic Party is already opening up opportunities for all kinds of political moves subsequently. The majority of observers are at present inclined to think that Dukakis will apparently be the Democrats' candidate. Whom will he choose as running mate for vice president—Jackson, Gore, or Gephardt? There is no lack of possible scenarios.

Northeast Asia

AUCCTU Delegation Continues DPRK Visit

Tours Enterprises

PM101301 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Mar 88 p 3

[Special Correspondent I. Belov report: "Warm Meetings: The Official Friendly Visit to the DPRK by a Soviet Trade Union Delegation Continues"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 3 Mar—The guests from the USSR have visited the memorial complex in the Pyongyang suburb of Mangyongdae. A museum there preserves exhibits connected with the life and work of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the country. Afterwards the Soviet trade union delegation familiarized itself with progress in the construction of Kwangdok, a residential district in the capital, where several dozen multistorey apartment blocks and hotels, around 40 schools, kindergartens and creches, a circus, and 11 large

sports facilities, including a stadium and a swimming pool, are being built by the people's construction method [metod narodnoy stroyki]. A considerable proportion of the facilities will be commissioned in September this year on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the republic's formation. In April 1989 the construction of the Kwangdok residential district and the Angol sports village will be completed. The first foreign visitors to these new sites will be the participants in the 13th World Youth and Student Festival, which will be held in Pyongyang in summer 1989.

On 2 March the delegation visited Chosong, one of the country's most ancient cities, which was the capital of the Korean state from the 10th to the 14th centuries. At Panmunjom, 10 km from Chosong, there is the demarcation line which divides the Korean peninsula. During a meeting with the city's trade union leaders and servicemen of the Korean People's Army, S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, expressed the firm support of Soviet working people and trade unions for the DPRK leadership's course aimed at uniting the motherland on a peaceful and democratic basis free of external interference. Our country's working people, he noted, resolutely condemn the U.S. policy aimed at perpetuating the division of Korea, demand the observance of the inalienable right of the people to the unity of the country, and advocate the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea and the granting of democratic rights and freedoms to the population of that country.

Today the Soviet trade union delegation visited Nampo, the country's most important commercial port which is situated on the DPRK's western coast. Pak Peng-il, the port director, gave a detailed report on the tasks facing the 3,000-strong collective and the role of Nampo port in carrying out the increasing trade exchange between the Soviet Union and the DPRK.

On the same day there was a meeting with workers and leaders of the Tosan heavy machine building production association. It is noteworthy that the enterprise pioneered the development of a system for the collective leadership of their enterprise which has since been introduced at all the enterprises in the country. The essence of the system is that the plant party committee discusses and resolves all questions relating to the enterprise's economic activity and monitors their implementation. The director belongs to the party committee and has the right to independently take only specific operational decisions relating to the management of current economic activity. The introduction of the Tosan system is linked with the changing of the trade union committees' functions. In conditions when party committees are organizing and directing all the economic activity of enterprises, trade unions are assigned the ideological and educational work. This has meant abolishing the practice whereby collective contracts are concluded between the trade unions and the administration. At present the

association collective's main task is to produce hydro-turbines, generators, and other equipment for the Taechon hydroelectric power station on time.

Kim Il-song Receives Shalayev

PM101421 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Mar 88 p 3

[Special correspondent I. Belov dispatch: "Fruitful Visit: Official Friendly Visit to DPRK by Trade Union Delegation Led by S.A. Shalayev, Chairman of the AUCCTU, Draws to a Close"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 4 Mar—This morning the Soviet trade union delegation was received by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee and DPRK president. Discussing the international situation, Kim Il-song stressed that the DPRK highly values the great contribution which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is making to the cause of strengthening peace. We welcome the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Korean leader said, and support the Soviet Union's latest efforts aimed at progressing toward a nuclear-free world.

S.A. Shalayev talked about the active role played by Soviet working people and trade unions in implementing the CPSU course of restructuring, accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, implementing radical economic reform, and democratizing social life. The Korean side noted the successful development of ties between the two fraternal countries' working people and trade unions and expressed their gratitude for Soviet assistance in the construction of a series of important national economic projects in the DPRK.

The talks between the Soviet trade union delegation and the Korean trade union delegation, led by Kim Pongchu, chairman of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, came to a successful conclusion. During the conversations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and complete unity of views, the sides exchanged information on topical areas of Soviet and Korean trade union activity and discussed questions concerning the further dynamic development of Soviet-Korean trade union ties and the international trade union movement.

The Soviet trade union delegation reaffirmed the inviolable solidarity of Soviet working people and their trade unions with the Korean people's struggle for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and the country's unification on a peaceful, democratic basis without outside interference.

The chairmen of the AUCCTU and of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea Central Committee signed an agreement on developing cooperation. It is intended to increase trade unions' contribution to fulfilling the tasks of socialist building in both countries, implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress

and the 6th WPK Congress, and increasing collaboration to strengthen peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. The document envisages improving bilateral contacts through central, sectorial, and local trade union organs and through the trade union press, exchanging experience in various aspects of trade union work, developing and improving the effectiveness of cooperation between labor collectives of related Soviet and Korean enterprises, galvanizing ties between Soviet and Korean lumberers working in the Soviet Far East, and doing the utmost to promote the formation of joint enterprises.

There was a mass Soviet-Korean friendship meeting at the Central House of Workers of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea Central Committee in the evening.

The fraternal Soviet people, Kim Pong-chu noted in his speech at the meeting, shed their blood to help the great cause of our people's liberation, providing material and spiritual assistance and support in the bleak days of the great liberation war against the American aggressors and in the difficult days of postwar construction. The Soviet Union is still actively helping the Korean people in their struggle for socialist building and the independent, peaceful unification of their motherland. Our people never forget this and they express their heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet working people.

S.A. Shalayev gave a speech in reply. On behalf of the Soviet trade union delegation he expressed gratitude for their hospitable reception and told the audience in detail about the tasks facing Soviet trade unions at home and in the international arena. In conclusion S.A. Shalayev solemnly presented the leader of the Korean trade unions with a memorial banner depicting the leader of the world proletariat and the founder of the first worker-peasant socialist state in the world—V.I. Lenin.

Moscow Japanese Cites Armitage Letter on Toshiba
*OW111226 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
10 Mar 88*

[Text] According to a KYODO report from Washington, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Armitage sent a letter to Congressman Aspin regarding the suspected link between Toshiba Machine Co.'s milling machines and the quieter Soviet submarine propellers. The letter dated 8 February was made public on Wednesday 9 March. It says: The Soviet Union already showed its interest in the technology in question in 1980. The United States was aware of that fact. The export of milling machines to the USSR by Toshiba Machine Co. came after that. Nevertheless, the alleged link between the milling machines and Soviet submarines provided the main basis for an anti-Japan campaign launched last year. As a result of U.S. pressures, Japan was forced to restrict trade with socialist countries and take part in the U.S. buildup of antisubmarine defense.

Armitage wrote to Aspin to that effect. The letter has the effect of admitting that continuing U.S. pressures on Toshiba Corp. and Toshiba Machine Co. are based on speculations which are obviously groundless.

Japanese Attitude Toward INF Treaty Viewed
*PM091315 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5*

[Political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint":
"The Real Cause of Suspicion"]

[Text] The Brussels NATO session has shown that the bloc's West European members have differing attitudes toward the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. But what about the United States' ally in the Far East—Japan? Logically it would be correct to assume that the Washington treaty has been met there with rejoicing. For what fears have Japanese ruling circles not been inspiring over the deployment of Soviet SS-20's in the Far East and what arguments have they not put forward as proof that the United States must not make a "deal" with the USSR in Europe while forgetting about Asia!

Now, to begin the historic process of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union has made a serious compromise. It has agreed to destroy all intermediate- and shorter-range missiles not only in Europe but also in Asia. Without, moreover, insisting that the United States respond by eliminating its nuclear systems in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines or by moving the aircraft carriers of the 7th Fleet a little further from Soviet shores.

However, Takeshita's cabinet has by no means seen the "global double-zero" as a step to meet Japan's desires half way. While verbally supporting the Soviet-U.S. treaty, official Tokyo has taken fright no less and, perhaps, even more than London or Paris. Warnings have been addressed to its senior partner: "The United States must not be drawn into the stream of USSR politics!" Kawara, chief of the Japan Defense Agency, stated in parliament without batting an eyelid:

"The signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has not improved the military situation in Asia. The potential threat to Japan from the Soviet Armed Forces in the Near East is growing..."

Unlike Britain or France Japan has no reason to cling to the status of a nuclear power. Surely the land of Hiroshima more than anyone should welcome a reduction in the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region. But it must be pointed out that official Japanese circles have a hostile, suspicious attitude toward the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations and, indeed, in Soviet-Chinese relations. However paradoxical this may seem, the atmosphere of confrontation in the Far East is somehow favorable for Tokyo. Like a lightning rod it has so far deflected stormy discharges in

Japanese-U.S. relations and has reduced the sharpness of the trade and economic conflicts by expanding military-political cooperation. By loudly assenting to Washington's anti-Soviet rhetoric, it was easy to relegate to the background what were sensitive questions for the U.S.

Against the backdrop of Japanese trade expansion, increasingly exasperated rebukes are to be heard that the Land of the Rising Sun is behaving like a "freeloader." It is allegedly easier for Japan to overcome its competitors by spending only 1 percent of the gross national product on military requirements—about 6 times less than the United States and 3.5 times less than its West European allies. But, first, Japan is outstripping NATO countries threefold in terms of the growth rate of its military budget. Second, its economic potential is now such that even 1 percent of the gross national product amounts to \$30 billion. On such a scale and at such rates Japan will overtake Britain and France by the year 1990 and will assume fourth place in the world for the size of its military expenditure.

There is also another aspect—the so-called strategic aid to pro-U.S. regimes. The corresponding item in the current Japanese budget has increased by 6.5 percent. The Japanese have been made to realize unequivocally that if they cannot spend more on weapons because of their antimilitary constitution, they can make a contribution to U.S. global strategy by other, indirect, means. In his time the previous Japanese Premier Nakasone gave South Korea privileged loans and credits worth \$4 billion. Another \$4 billion has been promised to Latin America. The incumbent Premier Takeshita has begun his foreign trips in Manila, where he tried to smash the wave of antinuclear sentiments in the ASEAN countries with financial bribes.

Within the framework of "indirect support" for the actions of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf region Tokyo has taken on some of the expense of maintaining U.S. military bases in Japan. The treasury is allotting more than \$1 billion for this and in the next few years the sum in question will be trebled.

It was after the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington that ruling circles in Tokyo began to talk on their own initiative about their readiness to take on additional military commitments. They suggested elaborating a system for the rapid deployment across the ocean of large-scale U.S. troop formations in the event of an "emergency" for which they would create in advance depots for U.S. combat equipment and supplies on Japanese territory. In this connection General Cassidy, U.S. transport troop commander, is to arrive in Tokyo any day now. Approximately 1,000 Galaxy aircraft and more than 100 warships are at his disposal. MAINICHI SHIMBUN notes that the mass transfer of troops to places where weapons are stored depends usually not only on military, but also on civilian ports, airfields, and

transport systems. This in turn demands the elaboration of emergency legislation, for which Japan's bellicose circles have been striving for a long time.

The secret opponents of the idea of a nonnuclear nonviolent world have the same handwriting in the West and in the East: Their aim is to nullify the results of the Soviet-U.S. treaty by various forms of "compensation" and to delay the demilitarization of our planet which it has begun.

Dmitriyev on TASS-KYODO Poll, USSR-Japan Ties
OW091231 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
8 Mar 88

[Dmitriyev commentary: "On USSR-Japan Relations"]

[Text] The results have been announced of a recent opinion poll conducted by TASS and KYODO in the Soviet Union and Japan. A great majority of the respondents—84.2 percent of the Japanese and 98.9 percent of the Soviets—were in favor of better USSR-Japan relations. Most of the people in the two countries want to see advances in reciprocal economic exchange. How good it would be if these genuine feelings were reflected in specific state policies.

Meanwhile, at about the same time the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted a briefing on Japan-relations. Unlike the poll, the briefing produced that warrants optimism in terms of substance. The ministry spokesman again linked the possible improvement of USSR-Japan relations to a settlement of the so-called territorial issue. He rehashed the old Japanese position, saying that perestroika has brought no change to Soviet policy toward Japan. Well then, should perestroika mean that the USSR should accept every unilateral demand Japan makes?

The Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman also charged that the Soviet Union is continuing its military buildup in the Far East. He cited the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty, which is applicable to Asia, too, as the only exception. The treaty, however, deserves a higher appreciation than that. The TASS-KYODO poll indicates that 86 percent of the Japanese and 99.4 percent of the Soviet people gave the treaty a positive rating. This means that the INF Treaty is by no means something that should be referred to merely as an exception.

The Soviet Union is not building its Army [rikugun] in the Far East; it is reducing its Army on the Soviet-Chinese frontier. It has also cut back on the number of its missile-equipped submarines. On the other hand, Japan's military buildup and the increasing Japan-U.S. military cooperation are stirring apprehensions among the Soviet people. According to the poll, 35 percent of the Soviet respondents and 59.2 percent of the Japanese do not regard each other's country as a peaceful nation. At the same time, a large majority of the Japanese respondents, 87.3 percent, supported the idea of a ban

on nuclear weapons realized by the 21st century. If more Japanese had known that it was the Soviet Union which put forth the concept, they could have responded differently to the earlier question put to them.

At any rate, 82.3 percent of the Japanese and 62.2 percent of the Soviet people think that there is not enough information available about each other's country. We need to know more about each other. The poll results leads us to conclude that ignorance creates distrust, which is the primary barrier to better relations and should be removed. If it is removed, it will help deepen mutual understanding between the two peoples. There already is a basis for this, because the poll shows that the two peoples agree in more areas than they differ with each other.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Death of SRV's Pham Hung Reported

*LD111250 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT
11 Mar 88*

[Text] Hanoi March 11 TASS—Pham Hung, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Vietnam, died today at the age of 75, the VIA news agency reports.

Cambodia's Hun Sen Discusses Reconciliation

*PM101331 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by TASS correspondents A. Smelyakov and P. Bogdanov: "The Aim Is National Reconciliation. Hun Sen, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and PRK Foreign Minister, on M.S. Gorbachev's Statement on Afghanistan and on the Prospects for Resolving the Cambodian Problem"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 3 Mar—Cambodia fully supports the Statement on Afghanistan by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, since it is the continuation of the realistic peace policy firmly and consistently implemented by the Soviet Union, Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and PRK foreign minister, has said.

The Soviet leader's statement is imbued with the desire to secure the resolution of the Afghan problem, he said. The announcement of the date for commencing the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan (15 May 1988) demonstrates the goodwill of the USSR and Afghanistan.

This document is of great importance for activating a settlement not only of the problem of Afghanistan but also of the Cambodian problem and other regional conflicts.

Showing a high degree of responsibility for the fate of the country and guided by the interests and aspirations of the Cambodian people, the KPRP and the republic's government have proclaimed a policy of national reconciliation. Our people have suffered from the aggression of U.S. imperialism and from the Pol Pot regime of genocide. But 9 years after the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique, the forces of imperialism and hegemony are continuing their subversive activity using the armed opposition groupings. Cambodia is under conditions of both peace and war. A peaceful atmosphere prevails over most of the country's territory. Hostilities are flaring up briefly in individual regions. But these clashes cause our people a great deal of trouble. That is why we are showing goodwill and why we wish to achieve national reconciliation through talks, to put an end to the conflict, and thus to make it possible for all Cambodians with the exception of Pol Pot and his immediate accomplices to unite.

Cambodians both inside and outside the country support the policy of national reconciliation, he went on to say. Many members of the opposition have left their groupings to join up with the people. The repatriation of Cambodian refugees from Thailand is under preparation. World public opinion has widely welcomed and supported the policy of national reconciliation. I will also particularly single out our meetings with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who represents one of the opposition sides.

The way to a political settlement and ending the conflict is undoubtedly fraught with difficulties since this war affects many sides and states. The leaders of some of them stubbornly oppose the policy of national reconciliation.

My two meetings with Norodom Sihanouk produced good results. The joint communique adopted in Fer-en-Tardenois 4 December 1987 broke the deadlock in which the Cambodian problem found itself. The second meeting, held this January, was also fruitful. We tackled the discussion of concrete questions. Unity of views was achieved on some of them, while others still need to be discussed. There's no denying that many problems accumulated during the war. They cannot be resolved in one or even two rounds of talks. There is an accord to continue them, but we are worried as to whether we will succeed in doing this. The point is that after his arrival in Beijing, Prince Sihanouk sent me a telegram asking for the third, fourth and fifth meetings to be postponed and did not set a specific date for them. We regard his request with understanding, Hun Sen pointed out in conclusion. However, if the political settlement of the Cambodian problem is delayed or a new deadlock arises on this path, the PRK will not be the one to blame.

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan-Pakistan Peace Talks 'Bogged Down'

More on Envoy's Statement

LD101851 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 10 TASS—Nikolay Kozyrev, ambassador-at-large of the USSR, made the following statement here today:

As is known, the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations on the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan held through the personal representative of the U.N. secretary general Mr. D. Cordovez have been conducted at Geneva over six years. The main item in the negotiations' agenda is the settlement of the issues related to ending the foreign interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from this country. In other words it concerns the elimination of the external factors, which will pave the way to the internal Afghan settlement and to the unblocking of the entire Afghan problem.

During the whole process of the negotiations the Afghan side acting in contact with the Soviet side has repeatedly showed a flexible and constructive approach aimed at expeditious conclusion of the negotiations.

It is this approach which made possible to prepare the entire "package" of the Geneva agreements: the bilateral agreement on the principles of mutual relations, in particular on non-interference and non-intervention, the declaration on international guarantees, the bilateral Afghan-Pakistani agreement on the voluntary return of refugees, the instrument on interrelationship of all elements of the settlement including the withdrawal of the Soviet troops to be signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan, and certified by the USSR and the USA, the monitoring mechanism to observe the obligations undertaken by the sides. However, a major issue of the settlement, that is the problem of the timing and the stages of the withdrawal of Soviet troops has not been resolved so far. Despite the willingness of the Afghan and Soviet sides to agree on the question, the flexibility which they showed for this purpose no progress till the current round has been made.

The Soviet-Afghan initiatives declared in the well-known statements by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah of the 8th of February, which defined a 10-month period for the Soviet troops withdrawal starting from the 15th of May, 1988 paved the way to the solution of the problem.

After that the Afghan delegation in Geneva which sought in every possible way to speed up the signing of the agreement and thus to allow the Soviet troops withdrawal from the date agreed upon, that is, from the 15th of May, acting in agreement with the Soviet side proposed to the Pakistani delegation that the Soviet troops be withdrawn within a 9-month period in the sense that 50 per cent of the contingent be withdrawn in the first three months. These proposals were fully consistent with the Pakistan and USA positions and certainly were adopted by them.

After this the negotiations appeared to be on the final lap as nothing prevented ending them with the exception of some questions left. However it is very surprising that after the key issue, namely the timing and stages of the Soviet troops withdrawal was solved the negotiations have not advanced but have bogged down for a week.

A very strange situation arises: The Pakistani side is simply killing time instead of finalizing the documents and preparing them for signing. Besides, evading on various pretexts from agreeing on some remaining issues they at the same time put forward new demarches and this is done contrary to the fact that the two sides from the very beginning agreed not to raise new issues as it is fraught with the revision of already adopted documents.

However, the recent declarations of the Pakistani leadership, in which an attempt was made to link the political settlement with the creation of a new government in Afghanistan shed light on such "a strange", at first glimpse, position of Pakistan. Without going into the substance of the problem of the national reconciliation in Afghanistan, I would like to stress that such a linkage can only aggravate the situation, block the signing of the Geneva documents and thus, the solution of the entire Afghan problem. It is the Geneva agreements, the termination of outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops, that can create the prerequisites for peace and consent between all Afghans. On the contrary, if the Geneva agreements are not signed, then a new flare up of bloodshed and fratricidal war in Afghanistan cannot be excluded. I hope that those, on whom the signing of the Geneva agreement depends understand that fact and that the common sense and comprehension of the existing in the Afghan settlement realities will finally prevail. [sentence as received] Otherwise, it will be clear, who will bear the responsibility for the failure to sign the Geneva agreements, which are supposed to play the most important role in the disentanglement of the Afghan knot and to make the first breakthrough in the chain of the regional conflicts.

U.S., Pakistani 'Maneuvers'

LD101656 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1248 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (TASS)—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

The Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva which are conducted through Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, have once again become deadlocked. At the very time when the hopes of the world community for the speedy establishment of peace in Afghanistan reached its peak, another "spoke" has been put into the wheels of the Geneva talks: the various kinds of "preconditions" which have suddenly appeared, put forward by the Pakistani side after its main and only condition for signing the agreement has been satisfied—the withdrawal from Afghanistan of the Soviet troops on the basis of a strict timetable and with emphasis on the withdrawal of the majority of them already in the first months after the signing of the documents. Now Islamabad makes the signing of the agreement dependent on the satisfaction of its demand to set up the so-called "transitional government" in Afghanistan.

But who does Pakistan think it is, any level-headed person may ask. Since when should the questions of forming a government in one or another country be determined not by the people of this country, but in the capitals of other states? After all, if one should take Islamabad's recipe seriously, international relations could be thrown into total chaos.

Already from the start of the current round of talks in Geneva, the Pakistani side's position gave rise to doubts about its insincerity. It cast suspicion on the possibility of achieving a final accord at the talks by 15 March, which would make it possible to begin returning Soviet troops home from Afghanistan already on 15 May. It would seem that the 2-day consultations, which the head of the Pakistani delegation held with representatives of the political forces in Islamabad, should have convinced it not to create additional obstacles to the talks. However, this did not happen. What is more, Islamabad's negative position at the talks assumed an even more ossified nature. The sham "firmness" now being displayed in Geneva by Pakistan's minister of state for foreign affairs, Zain Noorani, cannot be regarded as anything but an attempt to prolong the bloodshed in a neighboring country and to retain for Islamabad the privileges connected with this in the form of large-scale military economic aid which Pakistan is receiving from the United States and a few other countries, making use of the status of "frontline state" which it acquired as a gift from Washington.

And what is more, in Washington itself certain circles are working toward Pakistan "not hurrying" to sign an agreement. Contradictory statements on whether to stop military aid to the Afghan antigovernment formations are following one after the other from the U.S. capital, even though, as is known, the United States has already given an undertaking to guarantee the cessation of such aid as the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan starts. What is more, according to the testimony of the WASHINGTON TIMES, the volume of arms supplies from the United States to these formations, including "Stinger" missiles, has been expanded precisely in the

last few weeks when, as the paper observers, "a peace settlement is expected." As U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci stated at hearings in the House of Representatives Foreign Relations Committee: "We don't intend to halt our aid only because the Soviet Union is stopping military aid to the Afghan regime. We must satisfy ourselves that a withdrawal of troops is underway and that it is irreversible."

All these maneuvers around a matter that has already almost been resolved—the political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan—call into doubt the sincerity of that statement of Islamabad and Washington about their "striving" to turn a page of one of the most acute regional conflicts. By prolonging its resolution, they are assuming a serious responsibility in the eyes of the world community.

Cordovez on Talk's 'Atmosphere'

LD111438 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 11 TASS—United Nations secretary-general's personal representative Diego Cordovez said today that the atmosphere at the U.N.-sponsored Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva noticeably differed from how it was being portrayed in the mass media.

The question of the timetable for the Soviet troop withdrawal had been resolved, and this was one of the chief issues, and its solution represented a major step towards completing work.

A number of other serious problems were to be resolved, and attempts would be made to do that, Cordovez said.

He also announced that both delegations had been invited to continue the talks on Monday.

Pashtun 'Concern' on Pakistani Stance

LD111434 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul March 11 TASS—"The entire Pakistani people demand that the Islamabad regime display goodwill and sign an agreement with Afghanistan in Geneva," said at a jirgah elders of Pashtun tribes living in the Kurram agency of the North-Western Frontiers Province of Pakistan. Forum participants expressed a serious concern over the fact that despite an agreed agenda of the new round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted through a personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, Islamabad put forth as a condition for signing an agreement the formation of a transitional government. This is new evidence of lack of interest on the part of the Pakistani government in a just settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

Speakers at the jirgah said that the initiatives of the Soviet and the Afghan leadership opened a real way to establishing peace on Afghan soil. "The question on a government must be settled only by Afghans and nobody else," they pointed out.

Commentary on 'Rifts' in Afghan Opposition
LD101501 Moscow in English to North America
0001 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Excerpts] A rebel chief from among the so-called seven-party alliance, which is based in Peshawar, Pakistan, has resigned and accused Islamabad of siding with the extreme fundamentalists at the expense of the moderates. Our observer Igor Pavlov makes this comment, and this is what he writes.

[Pavlov] [passage omitted] Neither of the groupings would like to see a secular government in Kabul, and that is where they agree. But at the same time there are big rifts in the alliance, dating back to the time when it was set up as a political alternative to the Kabul government. What are these rifts or differences all about?

Well, first of all, moderates do not want to have an Islamic republic in Afghanistan of the type that exists in Iran. They would not want to see the level of religious zealotry that prohibits women from playing any roles even in such social spheres of life as medical care and education. The fundamentalists would like to reverse the social modernisation that was initiated back in 1973 after the overthrow of King Zahir Shah and continued after the April revolution of 1978.

Another major point of disagreement is the distribution of American arms. These weapons first go to the Pakistani authorities, and later are distributed among the various factions. The fundamentalists, who have always pledged to slit many throats in Kabul after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, received and continue to receive more arms than the moderates. So the way the American weapons are distributed is a clear indication of what Pakistani officials would like to see in neighboring Afghanistan after a pullout.

When the Pakistani authorities claim that an interim or transitional government they insist on is intended to prevent a bloodbath and speed up the return of refugees, they at best are not sincere. The same can be achieved along the lines of national reconciliation with the Afghans themselves deciding on who is to sit on what kind of a central government.

You don't have to support the religious zealots, whose hands are itching for a fight, to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The opposite would be far more logical, the more so since all the key demands of the opposition have been met by Kabul. The withdrawal timetable has been reduced to 9 months from 10, and

Islamabad has been assured that the pullout would be front-end loaded. This means that the bulk of Soviet combat units would leave during the initial stages of the pullout.

Agreement on Afghan Port Upgrading
LD100204 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0811 GMT 9 Mar88

[Text] Kabul, 9 Mar (TASS) A Soviet-Afghan agreement on bank reinforcement work in the region of Hayratan port and the construction there of a mooring wall has been signed in the Afghan capital. The work will be carried out by the Soviet side under contract conditions and paid for by credit granted for the purpose to Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. The port of Hayratan is one of the most important points on the river Amu Darya. Recently, due to severe floods, it has been under real threat of damage. In particular, harm could be done to the mooring structure and the railway branch line connecting the two banks of the river. Soviet specialists have already carried out a preliminary survey in the area.

Gosplan's Malyukov Visits India

Seen Off by Talyzin
PM111349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Departure for India"]

[Text] Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, departed for a friendly, working visit to India 10 March.

N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, saw him off at the airport.

Begins Talks in New Delhi
LD110946 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] New Delhi March 11 TASS—A Soviet delegation, led by Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, arrived here today on a friendly working visit.

Later in the day, the delegation laid wreaths at the site of cremation of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

The Soviet and Indian sides started talks in the second half of the day.

Arab Envoys in Moscow Denounce Iran

*LD102356 Kuwait KUNA in English 1945 GMT
10 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (KUNA)—The Council of Arab Ambassadors in Moscow Thursday denounced "Iran's ignition of the war of cities and its indiscriminate artillery and missile attacks on Iraqi cities and population centers." A communique issued here today in the name of the ambassadors pointed out that Iran has continued its recurrent aggressions on Iraq in violation of U.N. charters and Security Council Resolution 598 ordering a ceasefire in the protracted Gulf war.

The statement noted that Iraq was only staging retaliatory attacks on Iranian targets in self defense, whilst repeating its peace calls on the Tehran regime.

The council urged the Soviet Union to increase efforts to reach a speedy settlement of the seven and a half year war in the Gulf in accordance with Resolution 598, adopted unanimously last July.

Shamir Rejects U.S. 'Plan' on Eve of Visit

*LD101816 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT
10 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel has rejected the "New American Plan" for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The plan was submitted for consideration by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz during his recent trip to the Middle East.

This categorical stand was announced by the Tel Aviv "hawk" on the eve of his upcoming visit, beginning next week, to the United States. Meanwhile the U.S. plan, judging by reports that have appeared in the press, does not envisage the satisfaction of the legitimate right of the Palestinian Arabs to national self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state of their own, and rules out the possibility of the PLO's independent participation in the peace process. Neither does it raise the question of immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab lands or suggest mutually acceptable solutions to a number of other issues pertaining to a Middle East settlement.

While admitting the possibility of the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference, the U.S. Administration, however, still interprets it as a screen for direct talks aimed at concluding separate deals.

But even such a concept which constitutes a slightly renovated version of the proposals put forward by the U.S. secretary of state during the first phase of his tour of the countries of the region, did not suit Shamir. It is clear that the Israeli prime minister, contrary to common sense and the established realities, does not want to

budge an inch from the expansionist course of reckless military ventures which Tel Aviv has been for long practising with regard to Arab neighbours.

Seeking to drown in blood the people's uprising of the Palestinians in the West Bank of the Jordan and in Gaza sector the top leadership of Israel obviously steers matters to perpetuating the occupation of the territories within the framework of the realization of the Zionist doctrine which calls for the establishment of a "greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates".

Tel Aviv's criminal actions have assumed such an odious character that they give rise to mounting protest even among the Israeli Army. It was not by chance that a group of high-ranking officers urged Shamir to give up the great-power plans and to embark upon the road of peace.

On the eve of Shamir's visit to the United States, the Zionist lobby there has increased its activity for the purpose of muffling open criticisms of the Israeli prime minister.

THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper reported that the U.S. secretary of state had urged the members of Congress not to put public pressure on Israel with a view to making it accept the American plan for a Mideast settlement.

Thereby Washington again shows loyalty to its partner for the strategic anti-Arab alliance. It seeks to render support to it at a time when Palestinian Arabs, among them women, old men and children whose only "guilt" is that they do not want to put up with the yoke of the Israeli occupation, die at the hands of Israeli punitive troops.

Palestinian Solidarity Meeting Held in Moscow

*LD110112 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1855 GMT 10 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, 10 March. (TASS)—A meeting of solidarity with the fighting people of Palestine took place today at the "Friendship Among Peoples" University in Moscow.

Those who took part in it passed a resolution containing an appeal for a convocation as soon as possible of an international conference on the Near East under the aegis of the UN with permanent members of the Security Council and all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, taking part.

Vladimir Stanis, rector of the "Friendship Among Peoples" University, called the uprising of the Palestinians on the Arab lands occupied by Israel a natural reaction to the policy of genocide pursued for many years by the invaders against the Palestine people.

"Our people are now writing a heroic chronicle of the struggle for its rights," said Zayd Abu 'Amarah the PLO's charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, who took part in the meeting. "The mass demonstrations taking place are evidence of the people's fidelity to a cherished aim—the liberation of the homeland and the creation of an independent state."

PDRY Officials Hold 'Consultations' in Moscow
*LD111510 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT
11 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Soviet-South Yemeni political consultations were held in Moscow on March 9-11 in keeping with a protocol on cooperation between the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Ministry of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY).

The consultations were conducted from the Soviet side by First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, members of the Foreign Ministry Collegium Vladimir Polyakov, Oleg Peresyepkin and heads of several units at the foreign ministry.

The PDRY Side was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Muhammad Sa'id Muhsin, Ambassador Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah and head of the General Department at the Foreign Ministry A.N. Musannah.

In meetings and conversations held in a friendly, comradely atmosphere, the sides examined in detail topical problems of international politics, tasks of the struggle for disarmament and stronger peace, issues of cooperation between the two countries in the United Nations organisation and other international forum.

Much attention was given to the Middle East settlement, the tense situation in the Persian Gulf and the situation in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.

The South Yemeni representatives highly assessed the Soviet Union's consistent and constructive political course directed at restructuring international relations on the basis of broad cooperation and real disarmament and the earliest settlement of regional conflicts.

Briefs

Egyptian Patriarch Visits

A report from Moscow. Parthenios III, the Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt, is currently in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church. On the occasion of his visit to Pimen, patriarch of Moscow, Parthenios toured the Danilovskiy Monastery, which has been newly renovated for the forthcoming celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the Christianization of Russia. Afterward, the two patriarchs signed a document which envisages more comprehensive cooperation between the two churches and a more lively

involvement of Orthodoxy in the activity of the World Council of Churches. [Text] *[Vatican City International Service in German 1500 GMT 10 Mar 88 LD]*

EAST EUROPE

CPSU's Nikonov Meets BCP's Tsanov in Sofia
*PM101256 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "On a Working Visit"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A meeting took place at the BCP Central Committee between V.P. Nikonov [CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary] and V. Tsanov. The BCP Central Committee secretary briefed the guest on the new structure of management of agriculture and spoke of the main avenues in the implementation of the food program aimed at satisfying the population's growing requirements for food products.

During the exchange of opinions V.P. Nikonov noted the general similarity in the problems of restructuring the agro-industrial sector in the USSR and Bulgaria, stressed the need for comprehensive resolution of the issues that exist, and inquired about the experience accumulated by Bulgarian crop farmers and stockmen in various forms of contract organization and labor remuneration. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov Receives Nikonov

LD102144 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov today received Comrade Nikonov. During the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the Bulgarian leader talked about the large-scale work to implement the decisions of the BCP national conference aimed at restructuring all spheres of life in society.

Comrade Nikonov presented information about the preparations now under way in the Soviet Union for the 19th party conference, and about the devising of more democratic political and economic structures. He dwelt particularly on the restructuring of the agrarian sector of the economy, stressing the paramount importance of renewing the material and technical base of the industry.

Nikonov Visits Plovdiv

*LD091848 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 9 Mar 88*

[Text] The working visit to Bulgaria by Comrade Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, has begun. Today he met with Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary in the Central Committee

building. During an exchange of views an overall similarity was noted in the problems of restructuring the agro-industrial sector in the USSR and in Bulgaria.

In the second half of the day, Comrade Nikonov and those accompanying him laid a wreath at the Georgiy Dimitrov mausoleum and flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

Also today, the Soviet guest visited a leather processing factory in Sofia. This enterprise has recently been modernized and puts out products worth 20 million lev a year, almost half of which are exported to the USSR, the CSSR, the Polish People's Republic, and also certain countries in the West. The guests were told of the constant expansion and renewal of the selection of goods, and of the introduction of advanced, including Soviet, experience.

In Plovdiv Oblast, Comrade Nikonov and those accompanying him were the guests of the collective of the Oranzhereya combine, where a joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprise for cultivating vegetables has been organized. An in-depth exchange of views was held on how to most effectively direct the enterprise's activity to satisfy the demand for early vegetables in both countries, including by making fuller use of crop areas, productive crops, and the optimal use of fuel. The two sides agreed that the joint enterprise should be provided with quick and real assistance toward its development.

Comrade Nikonov and those accompanying him left for Plovdiv city today.

Visits Enterprises

LD110137 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our special correspondent's report from Bulgaria.

[Correspondent Golovanov identified by screen caption] The first address of our report is Sadovo. Here there is an institute that studies plants and natural resources with great dietary richness. [passage omitted] The experience of setting up such small food industry enterprises interested the Soviet visitors.

Another center of interesting experience connected with various aspects of agriculture is located in the village of Purvenets, not far from Plovdiv. In Purvenets, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov was shown an enterprise that engages in the industrial growing of seedlings for vegetable production. This year, it will prepare 33 million seedlings. [passage omitted]

Here is another integral part of the complex, the Agro-ASU [agro-automated control system]. All the complex's production processes are, as they say, controlled and

directed by electronics. Agro-ASU helps to create information systems not only in other agro-industrial complexes in Bulgaria, but also in our country, in Shpakovskiy Rayon in Stavropol Kray, where computers have already linked together 20 farms. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov noted the efficiency of such a system as regards crop programming and directing technological processes on the land.

Here we see the Brigada cannery in Asenovgrad. [passage omitted noting that this cannery produces food for children] Viktor Petrovich Nikonov and the other Soviet visitors were interested in touring this modern enterprise. They discussed the setting up of a Bulgarian-Soviet association to produce children's foods.

The Soviet guests visited the greenhouses of the Bulgarian-Soviet research and production association Bulgarsovovoshch. It was set up last autumn. Bulgaria's greenhouses, of which there are 300 hectares in the association, are being converted to natural gas, which will come from our country as of 1 October. [passage omitted]

Further Details on Visit

For Bulgarian reportage of the visit to Bulgaria by a CPSU delegation headed by Politburo Member Viktor Nikonov, and its activities, including its visits to industrial enterprises in the Sofia area and a greenhouse complex near Pozardzhik, see the Bulgaria Section of the 10 March Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Marshal Viktor Kulikov Visits Bulgaria

For reportage of the arrival and activities in Bulgaria of Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, including his meetings with Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council; General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff; and Army General Dobri Zhurov, minister of national defense, see the Bulgaria section of the 10 March Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

More on Soviet Military Equipment Leaving GDR

LD101514 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 10 Mar 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In accordance with the Soviet Government's statement, operational and tactical missiles are being withdrawn from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia before the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is ratified. Our correspondent in the GDR reports:

[Correspondent V. Mostovoy, identified by screen caption] On the day we filmed our report, special trainloads with military equipment were leaving from two points in the GDR: from Bischofswerde in the south and from the

Waren, situated north of the Republic's capital. We arrived in Waren several hours prior to the train's departure and managed to visit where the unit was stationed. Hundreds of inhabitants of this small town converged on the square adjoining the station. Those who spoke at the meeting emphasized the particular importance of the withdrawal of Soviet missiles at the present moment, noting the desire of the fraternal socialist countries to facilitate in deed the strengthening of detente and trust in the international arena.

[Unidentified soldier] We are going home in good spirits. Of course, thanks are due to our German comrades for their friendliness, our send-off, for the fact that they are seeing us off in such a good way.

[Another soldier] We are happy that reason has triumphed and we can leave for our home without worry. We are very happy.

SFRY-USSR Relationship Called 'Stable'

PM101525 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strong Foundation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar—The upcoming official friendly visit of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to Yugoslavia will take place at a time of the successful development of relations between the CPSU and the LCY and between the USSR and the SFRY. This visit will continue the practice of regular Soviet-Yugoslav summit meetings, TANJUG writes today.

The 1955 Belgrade Declaration and the 1956 Moscow Statement are the firm foundation of the stable relations and cooperation between the two countries. The principles contained in them have stood the test of time and had an important influence on the all-around development of Soviet-Yugoslav ties in the interests of both countries' peoples and of strengthening their traditional friendship tempered during the years of joint struggle against fascism. The historic significance of these documents also consists in the fact that the principles enshrined in them have entered the practice of relations among socialist countries and become a guarantee of successfully developing cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav news agency points out.

Briefs

Culture Protocol

A protocol on cooperation between the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Committee for Culture of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was signed in Moscow today. The program of artistic links envisaged by the document is a vast and varied one. For the first time exchange 10-day

periods of creative arts between young people of the two countries will be held. [Excerpt] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Mar 88 LD*]

Latin America & Caribbean

UK Concerned at Possible 'Invasion' of Falklands

LD101031 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Buenos Aires March 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kolesnikov reports:

According to newspaper reports, the British Defense Ministry seems to be concerned these days over the news coming from the South Atlantic region to the effect that the "treacherous" Argentines are getting prepared for an invasion of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) occupied by Britain. The intelligence data are thoroughly checked with the help of the information beamed by spy satellites. If the reports are proved to be correct, Britain will dispatch its troops to the South Atlantic Region to render assistance to the 1,500-strong garrison deployed in the islands.

Those reports could be regarded as nonsense or not too clever newspaper mystification. However, the idea of an alleged Argentine "invasion" was used as a pretext for the British military exercise in the course of which it is planned to train the prompt transfer of landing troops, warplanes and military hardware to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Only strong protests of Latin American countries forced the British Ministry of Defense to change its previous plans of staging a large-scale provocation in the South Atlantic region. Thus, the transfer of the troops scheduled for the first two days was postponed for a week. The strength of the contingent due to take part in the military exercise was reduced. However, the main purpose of the exercise remains the same: to confirm British military presence in the archipelago and the zone of the ocean around it, as well as to bring to naught even the minimal prospects of starting peace talks with Argentina in order to settle an old dispute connected with the sovereignty over the islands, as the U.N. demands.

The strategic task of the U.S. and its NATO allies is to dominate sea communications in any part of the planet. At the moment there exist "unsinkable aircraft carriers" (military bases) in the Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean, in the Easter Island in the Pacific, in the Panama Canal Zone and in many other zones of the world ocean. The British military base in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) can also be described as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier." Specialists believe that it can be used in the realization of the U.S. "Star Wars" program. Washington and London have common objectives, which follows from the fact that six years ago during the British-Argentine armed conflict the U.S. betrayed the interests of Latin America with which it is bound by treaties on

repulsing outside aggressions and openly sided with Britain which sent a big expeditionary corps to the zone 13,000 km away from its national territory.

Allegations of the White House to the effect that Britain did not notify the U.S. Administration about the coming military exercise proved to be false. It is known today that this time, the same as in 1982, the British contingent will use as a transshipment point a U.S. military base in the Ascension Island. This is not the only thing that shows the falsehood of the statements made quite recently in Buenos Aires by emissaries of President Reagan. An official spokesman for the Conservative government openly stated at a press conference in London that the U.S. had been notified in advance about the military exercise.

On the U.N. decision, the South Atlantic region was proclaimed a zone of peace and cooperation. However, the will of the world community is of little interest for Britain. On Wednesday a British warplane made a forced landing at the Montevideo International Airport which had air bombs and explosive on board. The cargo was intended for the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

Ortega Blames U.S. for Foiling Contra Talks

*LD090954 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT
9 Mar 88*

[Text] Managua March 9 TASS—The Reagan administration, which finances the undeclared war against Nicaragua, bears the entire responsibility for the frustration of direct talks (which were set for March 9-11) between the republic's government and contra leaders on a ceasefire in accordance with the Guatemala peace agreements.

This was stated at a mass meeting here on Tuesday by President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua. The refusal of the contras to sit down at the negotiating table together with the government indicates that they are not interested in ending the bloodshed in the country or in a peaceful settlement in Central America, and in every way try to heat up the explosive situation in the region. The contras make attempts by means of propaganda ruses to secure new aid from their masters. In the face of offensive by external and internal counterrevolutionaries, the Nicaraguans should unite still more closely, and vigilantly to defend the revolutionary gains, the Nicaraguan leader emphasized.

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses Forestry, Housing

LD102126 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 10 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. At the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo held on 10 March, the issue regarding improving forestry management and the country's timber industry was examined. In the course of the discussion it was noted that the system of management of these sectors has begun to have a negative effect on the state of affairs in forestry and the timber industry, and on forming a genuinely responsible attitude to economic management of the country's forestry resources.

The resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers deemed it necessary to regard the preservation and increase of forestry resources and their assiduous use, meeting the needs of the national economy and the population in various timber products, and speeding up the solution of social development issues as one of the most important tasks of party, soviet, and economic bodies, enterprise associations, and labor collectives of the forestry and timber industry.

It was decreed that permanently acting integrated forestry enterprise associations must become the main element in forestry and the timber industry. It is envisaged to implement a precise division of functions in the control of the country's Unified State Forestry Fund and of functions pertaining to its economic utilization. With this purpose it is planned to form a USSR Union-Republican State Committee on Forests, USSR Goskompleks, and a USSR Union-Republican Ministry of the Timber Industry, USSR Minlesprom, on the foundation of the existing bodies of management.

It is envisaged that tackling issues pertaining to the protection, conservation, and reproduction of forests, and the planning of forestry development on union republics' own territory should be concentrated within these republics' own jurisdiction.

At the session a draft resolution was examined on measures regarding speeding up the economic and social development of Murmansk Oblast from 1988 to 1990 and up to the period of the year 2005, which has been drawn up by the USSR Council of Ministers in line with the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Murmansk Oblast. It was deemed necessary to implement a complex of large-scale measures to increase and make better use of the production potential and ensure a state approach toward the integrated use of the unique natural resources of the Kola Peninsula, which have an all-union significance.

For the purpose of creating more favorable living conditions in Murmansk Oblast, the social sphere will receive priority development. It is already envisaged in the remaining years of the current 5-Year Plan, and in the 13th 5-Year Plan, to significantly expand residential and sociocultural construction. The task of improving the production of agricultural produce, other consumer goods, and construction materials has been set in order to satisfy to a maximum degree the demand for them by using local production output. The ministries, departments, and enterprises of the oblast are instructed to implement measures to create a decisively healthier ecology on the Kola Peninsula.

The Politburo examined the question of complaints by young specialists arising from infringements of legal provisions on making housing available to them on favorable terms when they are moved to new areas in connection with their employment. It was deemed necessary to elaborate and carry out measures directed toward strict observance of the rights and legitimate interests of graduates of higher, secondary, and specialized education establishments and toward creating conditions for them to play an active and creative part in fulfilling the tasks of radical renewal and restructuring of all spheres of our society's life.

The session examined the results of the conference of secretaries of the central committees of communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries on international questions, and approved the work of the CPSU delegation. The meeting in Havana was a notable step on deepening the cooperation of the fraternal parties in international activity and in their struggle for arms limitation, for disarmament and development, and for the strengthening of international and regional security. Instructions were issued for implementing the accords achieved at the conference.

The Politburo examined and approved the results of the meetings and conversations held in Havana by Comrades Dobrynin and Medvedev, who took part in the work of the conference, with Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders.

It approved the outcome of the conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Franz Muhri, president of the Austrian Communist Party. The meeting confirmed community of views on the current world situation and on the need to fight for security and international cooperation.

The session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo also discussed some other questions of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state.

Shcherbitskiy Attends Agricultural Seminar

AU101531 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
4 Mar 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Discussion on the Topics of Developing the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] A republic-level seminar on topical issues concerning the development of the agro-industrial complex in the Ukrainian SSR opened in Poltava on 3 March. Its participants—obkom first secretaries, obkom secretaries in charge of affairs involving the agro-industrial complex, chairmen of oblast agro-industrial committees, prominent agrarian scientists, leaders and responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom and other republic-level organs—examined questions concerning party work carried out to restructure the agro-industrial complex, to intensify farming and stockbreeding, to apply progressive forms of labor organization and economic management methods, and to develop the countryside in the social sphere.

The seminar proceedings were attended by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; V.A. Ivashko, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the Agriculture and Food Industry Department in the CPSU Central Committee; N.N. Kovalenko, sector chief in the Agriculture and Food Industry Department under the CPSU Central Committee; and responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers.

Party Resolution on Worker Retraining Described
PM071313 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88
Morning Edition pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "On Restructuring the System for Improving the Skill and Retraining of Leading Workers and Specialists in the National Economy"]

[Text] As already reported, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution entitled "On Restructuring the System for Improving the Skill and Retraining of Leading Workers and Specialists in the National Economy."

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers note that implementing the course formulated by the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums, aimed at restructuring and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, requires that leading workers and specialists in the national economy show a high level of competence, creative initiative, and modern economic thinking and that they learn new methods of economic management and work skills in conditions of full economic accountability and the democratization of all spheres of society's life.

During the scientific and technical revolution and the fundamental restructuring of economic management, the continuous retraining of working people is one of the most important factors for ensuring the efficient work of associations, enterprises, organizations, institutions, and each labor collective.

At the same time, the resolution stresses, the state of this work in the country and the existing network of educational institutions (subunits) of the system of skill improvement and retraining of leading workers and specialists do not meet the national economy's increased demands for the prompt updating of workers' professional knowledge either in scale or in quality.

The point is made that to resolve the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, radically reforming economic management, and implementing a modern cadre policy it is necessary to fundamentally restructure the system for improving skills and retraining national economic cadres.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have instructed union republic Communist Party central committees, party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers to implement concrete measures to create on a new basis an integrated state system for improving skills and retraining leading workers and specialists and to switch during the 12th 5-Year Plan from the periodic retraining of cadres to continuous retraining. The task set is to establish a mobile and flexible network of educational institutions and subunits for skill improvement and retraining and to develop various forms of continuous production and economic training in enterprises and organizations themselves. For this purpose full use must be made of the potential of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions.

Leaders of ministries and departments, associations, enterprises, organizations, institutions, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes are made personally responsible for organizing continuous skill improvement for workers, maintaining their high professional level, and providing up-to-date training for the new labor functions in both the production and the nonproduction spheres.

Constant skill improvement is the direct official duty of every leader and specialist.

Leaders of ministries and departments, enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions are instructed to cooperate with party and trade union organizations in creating an effective system of material and moral incentives for continuous skill improvement, raising the professional standard of cadres, and enhancing workers' individual interest in and personal responsibility for constantly increasing and updating their knowledge. It is

expedient to link the transfer of leaders and specialists and the establishment of their corresponding wage scale to the results of training and the practical use of the knowledge acquired.

Educational institutions belonging to the skill improvement and cadre retraining system are instructed to carry out a comprehensive assessment of students' vocational knowledge and professional qualities based on the results of training and accordingly to formulate recommendations on the further employment of workers. The relevant information must be passed on to leaders of the ministries, departments, enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions which have sent leading workers and specialists for study courses.

The raising of professional standards must be viewed as the most important criterion when grading workers. Information on workers' training in educational institutions (subunits) of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system throughout their working lives will be reflected in the standard skills certificate as the main document attesting to a worker's professional level.

In accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), labor collectives are instructed to be exacting and to show constant concern for the steady improvement of the professional skill of cadres and to take fuller account of the level of workers' training during elections to leading posts. It is necessary to create everywhere an atmosphere in which the most skilled workers enjoy profound respect and authority and to assert the prestige of professional training, of actively acquiring new knowledge and skills, and of gaining advanced production experience. Workers must report to labor collectives on how they use the knowledge and skills acquired in improving labor quality.

The resolution established the following main types of training in the skill improvement and cadre retraining system which provide continuous training:

The regular independent training of a worker (self-education) under an individualized training plan approved by his immediate superior, who monitors his performance in training;

The participation at least once a month in standing seminars on production and economic questions both at the place of work and at other enterprises and organizations;

Short-term training (as necessary but at least once a year) at one's place of work or at educational institutions (subunits) of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system;

Regular long-term training (at least once every 5 years) in educational institutions (subunits) of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system;

Job training at progressive enterprises, in leading scientific organizations, and in higher educational institutions, including in other countries;

Specific postgraduate or doctorate training on themes relevant to the organization or enterprise in question;

And retraining-study in a new specialized discipline at academies, skill raising institutes, specialized faculties at VUZ's and departments of secondary specialized educational institutions.

The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and leaders and party organizations of educational institutions (subunits) of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system are instructed to restructure the training process and bring its content into line with the requirements of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums. There must be a differentiated approach to training leading workers and specialists to meet their real needs for training in theoretical and practical matters.

The task is to ensure that students actively master the very latest methods of economic management and that they study in depth questions connected with restructuring the national economic management, transferring sectors to conditions of economic accountability and self-financing, and implementing the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Leading workers must learn how to manage labor collectives in conditions of the democratization of all spheres of social life. Training must be expanded considerably in the sphere of systems analysis, systems engineering, sociology, psychology, law, finance, cooperation, foreign economic ties, and other questions of great importance for specialists and leaders.

Professional training must be aimed at ensuring that leading workers and specialists promptly master the very latest achievements in the relevant spheres of science and technology, labor techniques and organization, advanced domestic and foreign experience, the rational and comprehensive use of natural resources, and the thrifty use of manpower and material resources. Every specialist must make active use of computer technology in his work, be familiar with modern scientific and technical information, and utilize it efficiently to resolve practical tasks.

All work in skill improvement and cadre retraining must be subordinated to successfully fulfilling the plans for the economic and social development of the country and regions, national economic sectors, associations, enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes and to accelerating the pace of scientific, technical, and social progress.

On the basis of a certification of skill improvement and retraining institutions, permanent bodies of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Gosstroy, union republic councils of ministers, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and USSR ministries and departments are to regulate the network of such institutions in 1988-1989 and combine the sectoral principle of its organization with extensive intersectoral and regional cooperation.

It is expedient to create intersectoral institutes for skill improvement and retraining leading cadres based on faculties for training organizers of industrial production, construction, and planning at a number of VUZ's.

It is also planned to create intersectoral institutes for improving the skills of leading workers and specialists under union republic councils of ministers.

Tsentrosoyuz and interested ministries and departments must organize extensive study for leaders and specialists of cooperatives.

The resolution requires the leaders of educational institutions belonging to the skill improvement and cadre retraining system and higher and secondary specialized educational institutions to organize consultations for people working independently to improve their qualifications. It is envisaged that economically accountable courses will be set up under those educational institutions for citizens who wish to follow a definite study program.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, in conjunction with the appropriate ministries and departments, is to assess skill improvement and retraining educational institutions (subdivisions) once every 5 years to comprehensively assess the standard of their educational work, the quality of teaching cadres, and the condition of the materials base.

The educational process in the skill improvement and cadre retraining system will be operated primarily by leading scientists, major specialists, party, soviet, and economic leaders, those who develop the latest technical solutions and technological processes, and production innovators, for whom this will be an additional, hourly-paid job.

The resolution instructs the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, together with union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, and gorkoms, to adopt measures to fundamentally improve the work of skill improvement institutes for social sciences teachers in higher education. The role of those institutes in providing scientific methodological support for restructuring social and economic teaching is to be considerably stepped up.

Sociopolitical training is to be introduced both in-service and out of worktime for all social sciences teachers in party, soviet, and economic organs, at enterprises, and in institutions.

USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers are to ensure that plans for international scientific and technical ties include the assigning of leading workers and specialists, as well as of teachers of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system and VUZ's, to enterprises, firms, organizations, and educational institutions in foreign countries to study advanced experience in the priority areas of production, management, science, and technology. To that end it is necessary to make broader use of the potential of enterprises and organizations which have direct production and scientific-technical ties, and also of twinned regions.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers deem it necessary to enhance the role of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in pursuing an integrated state policy in improving skills and retraining leading workers and specialists and have entrusted it with organizational and methodological leadership of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system, the role of defining the main areas of its development and improvement, state inspection of all types of continuous cadre training, coordinating the work of educational institutions, and monitoring the content and quality of the study process.

The resolution instructs the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy to enhance the scientific and methodological leadership of educational institutions (subunits) which offer skill improvement and training for leading workers of the top level of state management.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and USSR ministries and departments have been set the task of providing an express information service for educational institutions (subunits) of the system of skill improvement and retraining of leading workers and specialists, as well as supplying them with publications and normative documents on the priority areas of economic, scientific, and technical development and with other materials on sectoral and intersectoral problems. It is necessary to link more closely the work of these educational institutions and other sectoral scientific and technical information centers. Enterprise and organization leaders are instructed to create an inquiry and information service.

The USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education have been instructed to cooperate with other ministries and departments in organizing a series of broadcasts and in producing educational videos to help students improve their skills.

The most important function of sectoral journals is to study and report on the experience of work in skill improvement and cadre retraining.

To enhance the responsibility borne by educational institutions (subunits) of the system of skill improvement and retraining leading workers and specialists for ensuring the quality of training, it is expedient to begin transferring them to conditions of economic accountability in 1988.

It is envisaged that improving the skills and retraining of leading workers and specialists will be carried out under contracts concluded between educational institutions (subunits) and ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, organizations, and institutions, which regardless of their departmental jurisdiction will make direct payments to the aforementioned educational institutions for each worker assigned for study.

A concrete program has been adopted for reinforcing the educational materials base of the skill improvement and cadre retraining system through the year 2000.

The USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science is instructed to include in the yearly plans the priority allocation of computer facilities to ministries and departments for equipping educational institutions engaged in the skill improvement and retraining of cadres, using for that purpose up to 5 percent of the funds of the ministries and departments in question.

It is planned to improve the material and living conditions of specialists and leading workers assigned for training.

The resolution instructs union republic Communist Party central committees, party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers to focus the attention of party, trade union, and economic organs and labor collectives on supporting the continuous training of workers in all spheres of the national economy and to enhance the responsibility of leaders for creating the necessary conditions.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution expresses the firm confidence that party, soviet, trade union, and economic organs and the collectives of associations, enterprises, organizations, and institutions will successfully implement the restructuring of the system of skill improvement and retraining of leading workers and specialists in the national economy and will work to achieve good results in economic and cultural building and in resolving the program tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

Further on Armenian-Azerbaijan Unrest

Plenum Resolution Summarized

PM101647 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST in Russian*
28 Feb 88 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Account of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum Resolution of 26 February 1988"]

[Text] The resolution of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum notes that the plenum perceived with a sense of profound gratitude the Appeal from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The plenum considers this appeal to be a manifestation of our party's enormous concern for the destiny of each people in the great USSR and for the fate of socialism.

The plenum wholly and fully supported the assessments and conclusions contained in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal and the task, emphasized by him, of strengthening in every possible way the internationalist friendship among the Soviet peoples—a friendship which has been, is, and will continue to be the solid foundation of our beloved [rodnoy] state.

The plenum called on all working people in the republic, each man and woman, each young man and woman, each worker and kolkhoz member, each specialist, scientist, and creative worker, and each student and pupil to wholeheartedly respond to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the working people, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and to show prudence, maturity, and responsibility. We must get rid of the emotion and passion surrounding the resolution of the complex national territorial issue and examine it under calm conditions of socialist democracy.

The plenum made an ardent appeal to Armenian working people to strengthen the friendship between the peoples of the USSR and between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. It called on workers, kolkhoz members, employees, students, and all Armenian citizens to return to normal work and study and to worthily carry out their individual duties.

The resolution notes that the plenum is counting on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem being studied and examined in conjunction with the other questions which will be discussed at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the problems of nationalities policy, and asks the CPSU Central Committee to set up a corresponding commission in this connection.

The plenum instructed the leaders of all ispolkoms and administrative organs to use, if necessary, the powers granted to them for ensuring the strictest observance of the law and public order on the republic's territory.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum expressed confidence that the party aktiv and Communists will do everything to improve the situation in the republic and unconditionally fulfill the tasks stemming from the Appeal by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Armenians Return to Work

PM111537 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
29 Feb 88 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Stability Is Being Restored"]

[Text] A meeting has been held between representatives of the mass media and A.S. Shaginyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs. He described the operational situation in the republic over the last few days and the measures adopted to maintain law and order in connection with the well-known events surrounding the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The minister noted that the Appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia was received by the population of the republic with understanding as a manifestation of concern for the strengthening of friendship between neighboring peoples and all the peoples of our multinational country. The appeal was read out on the square in front of the Opera and Ballet Theater named for A. Spendiaryov. The people gathered there were addressed by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

In the afternoon of 26 February, people began to disperse. Enterprise workers and young people began to return to their homes, and the following day the working rhythm of the city began to return to normal. Transport resumed fully. All enterprises which operate on Saturday worked normally.

Tens of thousands of Yerevan inhabitants voluntarily came to work on Sunday. They mounted a labor watch with a sense of high civic duty to the people and the country and a desire to make up for the losses of recent days. Workers and specialists at the "Armelektromash" and "Armkhimmash" Associations, the main enterprise of the "Zakavkazkabel" Association, and the "Almaz" Plant, the experimental tobacco combine, and other enterprises in the city were working on account of the plan and the fulfillment of pledges for deliveries to fraternal republics.

Law enforcement organs continue to mount a watch to maintain public order and safeguard citizens' legitimate rights and interests.

More on Disturbances

PM111511 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
1 Mar 88 p 3

[AZERINFORM "Announcement"]

[Text] A group of hooligan elements provoked disorder in Sumgait on 28 February. There were instances of riotous behavior and violence. Measures were adopted to normalize life in the city and ensure discipline and public order. The authorities are conducting an investigation.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has urged the people of Sumgait and the entire population of the republic to display a high degree of responsibility and good sense and maximum restraint and discipline and mobilize efforts to ensure discipline and order everywhere and strengthen the internationalist atmosphere in labor collectives.

Sumgait Citizens Interviewed

LD102034 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 10 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, a group of hooligan elements in Sumgait took advantage of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh to provoke disturbances. Our correspondent has been to the town: [video shows correspondent M. Mamedov—identified by screen caption—with a microphone interviewing three people]

[First interviewee, identified by screen caption as E. Nagiyeva] The events of February 28th have had a painful impact in our hearts. We have always lived in a harmonious town—Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and Russians. We lived the way members of the same family live.

[Second interviewee, identified by screen caption as R. Sardarly] I was born and bred in Sumgait; my family come from here. The town has grown up in front of my very eyes. The events in the town disturbed me deeply, just as it did all the people of Sumgait. But I should like to note in particular that the people who organized this negative phenomenon in the town cannot be called Sumgaitans.

[Mamedov] Elmira Nagiyeva and Rushan Sardarly expressed the view of the entire multithousand-strong collective of the Sumgait superphosphate works. Even in those difficult days, the enterprise worked steadily and without interruptions. Mineral fertilizer—so greatly needed during the spring season—continued to be despatched. [video cuts to show correspondent interviewing N.V. Didyk, secretary of the party committee, identified by screen caption]

[Mamedov] I have a question for you both as a Communist and as a veteran of the enterprise. How could what happened in Sumgait come about?

[Didyk] Well, what happened in our town is, of course, very regrettable for us, and today it can be clearly and precisely said that such questions as political and educational work, the internationalist issue, questions of the patriotic upbringing of our young people, teenagers, and schoolchildren—we have overlooked these questions. Somewhere, as happens in life, we replaced these matters by ostentation—one can even say, by noise. And these questions were looked at thoroughly by our party organization and the party organization of the entire city, and we have 18,000 Communists in the city. It is a strong party organization, which will be able to provide a clear and real analysis of everything that happened.

[Mamedov] All factories and mills in Sumgait are at work today. Public catering enterprises, communal services, and transportation are operating smoothly. Classes are going on at educational establishments. But behind the outward calm of each person in Sumgait, one can feel the bitterness over what has happened in a city well known for its good traditions of friendship.

Over 100 Arrested in Azerbaijan

AU110811 Paris AFP in English 0019 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 11 (AFP)—More than 100 people in the southern Soviet republic of Azerbaijan have been arrested since bloody anti-Armenian riots on February 28, an Azerbaijani official said Thursday. Prosecutors were putting together evidence for a televised trial, a manager at the television station in the republic's capital Baku said.

A curfew has been imposed in Sumgait, where riots claimed 32 lives, according to official figures. Unofficial sources said the statistics did not include those who had since died of their wounds, and put the death toll at more than 100.

Sumgait is an industrial city with a population of 200,000. Little more than half are Azerbaijanis. Armenians number some 40,000, the rest comprising immigrants from neighbouring republics and rehabilitated prisoners.

A former resident said it was the sort of place where "people stayed indoors at night even before the riots."

Tension between Armenians and Azerbaijanis stems from an Armenian claim that the Azerbaijani district of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has a majority Armenian population, should become part of Soviet Armenia.

Film Shows Aftermath of Riots

AU110812 Paris AFP in English 0330 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 11 (AFP)—A clandestine video film shot by an Armenian journalist has given foreign correspondents in Moscow their first glimpse of events which bloodied the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan last month.

Two three-hour-long cassettes, extracts of which were viewed by an AFP correspondent here, showed interviews with Armenians in hospital after they were beaten up by Azerbaijanis in riots which left at least 32 dead.

In one interview, shot in a hospital on February 25, an Armenian, his head covered in bandages, explains that his car was ambushed by dozens of Azerbaijanis who had placed a tree across the road. After stoning the car, the attackers beat up both driver and passengers, the man said.

Other scenes show a huge demonstration, attended by thousands of Armenians, in Stepanakert, southern Azerbaijan on February 23, to protest the violence.

Tension between Armenians and Azerbaijanis stems from an Armenian claim that the Azerbaijani district of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has a majority Armenian population, should become part of Soviet Armenia.

Results of CPSU Conference

NC110817 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 11 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Letters and appeals adopted at meetings of labor collectives in recent days in connection with the incidents in and around Nagorno-Karabakh have been arriving at AZERINFORM [Azerbaijan news agency]. A front-page summary on this in the papers says that the working people of the republic, warmly approving of the Appeal of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Azerbaijan and Armenian working people and populace, an Appeal for intensifying the effort to solve the large and responsible tasks of the second phase of perestroika.

As was noted at the CPSU Central Committee conference, the main thing now is to consistently implement the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy, to strengthen the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, the peoples of the Soviet Transcaucasus, and the whole country.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR was formed on 7 June 1923. The decision on autonomy was based on Leninist principles regarding the formation of national states. The path traversed by the autonomous oblast has proven the vitality and rightness

of these principles, and now serves as a brilliant example of the implementation of the immense advantages of the socialist social order and the monolithic friendship of the peoples of our multinational state.

Nagorno-Karabakh has been transformed from a backward river valley with a primitive cottage industry and a semiliterate peasant economy, into one of the republic's highly developed regions with modern industry, advanced agricultural economy, and a modern social infrastructure. However, it must be admitted that there are not a few problems and difficulties in the oblast as is generally the case in the republic.

The central committees of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist Parties were advised, at the 9 March CPSU Central Committee conference, to work out long-term measures to improve the internationalist education of the working people and to solve, in a coordinated manner, topical questions concerning the social, economic, daily life, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of these republics' mutual relations on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism. Azerbaijani party organs, economic leaders, scientists, and specialists have been instructed to organize a profound and all-round study of the accumulated problems of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Scientists and other workers of the planning organs of the Institute of Administration of the National Economy, affiliated with the republic's Council of Ministers, have held a conference on speeding up the development of the productive forces of Azerbaijan's autonomous oblast.

The following took part in the conference:

Samed-Zade, head of the Economic Department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and corresponding member of the republic's Academy of Sciences; Khatchaturov, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Gadzhiev, deputy chairman of the Republic's State Planning Committee; Davtyan, deputy head of the Construction and Municipal Services Department of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party; Akhundov, pro-rector of the Azerbaijan National Economy Administration Institute; and other comrades.

Today's papers publish an extensive account of this meeting.

Situation in Sumgait 'Stabilized'

NC110821 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 11 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The republican press reports that the situation has stabilized in Sumgait. The tranquillity of the residents, as well as law and order, have been ensured. Correspondents of AZERINFORM and VYSHKA have interviewed (Kaidov), procurator and chief legal advisor of Sumgait. You can read the latter's interview in today's papers.

KOMMUNIST Reports CPSU Conference

NC110859 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0630 GMT 11 Mar 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] As has already been reported by the mass media, a conference in the CPSU Central Committee on 9 March heard reports by Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on the state of affairs in these republics in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh. In his statement, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that the most important thing now is to consistently pursue the Leninist principles regarding the nationalities policy, and to strengthen the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, the peoples of Soviet Transcaucasus, and the whole country. Any exacerbation of the situation could be a setback for our great achievements in the friendship among the peoples which our country has attained in the seven decades of its existence.

Armenians Conduct 1-Hour Strike

LD111421 Hamburg DPA in German 1301 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to civil rights activists, the Armenian people put their tools down nationwide for 1 hour today. The Armenians were using this protest strike to lend weight to their demand for incorporation of the autonomous oblast of Nagorno-Karabakh. In addition, they demanded a thorough investigation into the massacre-like attacks by Muslim Azerbaijanis on the Armenian population in the town of Sumgait and severe punishment for the culprits, it was reported in civil rights circles today. It was not yet clear in Moscow to what extent the population followed the call.

Sergey Grigoryants, publisher of the unofficial information magazine GLASNOST, told newsmen that the unrest had been caused by the "street mob and the policy of the authorities." The policy of the authorities had led to the mood directed against Moscow "increasing drastically."

The organization committee in the Armenian capital of Yerevan was sending appeals to the Central Committee in Moscow, Grigoryants said. These appeals accused the leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan and a number of senior CPSU officials of "crimes against all Armenian people." Grigoryants spoke of a "depressingly short-sighted policy," which threatened, "by provoking national disputes," "to throw the country into a blood-bath."

According to Grigoryants, the Armenians in Sumgait were forbidden, under threat of prosecution, to give any information on the events. Andrey Shilkov, who works

on GLASNOST and had travelled to Sumgait, stated that the town looked like a military camp. He had seen 450 military busses and 47 tanks and APC's on the main street alone. All entrances to buildings and yards in the center were under guard.

A curfew from 2200 to 0700 was still in force in Sumgait—the town is around 30 km away from the Azerbaijani capital of Baku—Shi'kov said. He had not been able to enter some districts of the town. He had also not been allowed to visit the Armenian cemetery.

According to official figures, 32 people died in Sumgait; the civil rights activists speak of "at least 330 deaths." Of the approximately 18,000 Armenians who lived there, the fate of around 2,000 was unknown. Only a fraction of them had fled.

Grigoryants said the authorities were trying to "eliminate" the organization committees in Armenia, to which 1,200 people belong nationwide. They were "a thorn in the flesh" of the authorities. According to Grigoryants, around 700,000 people took part in a funeral march for the victims of Sumgait last Tuesday. The people had marched in silence for 8 hours from Opera Square to the memorial to the victims of the genocide against Armenians under the Turks.

The civil rights activist added that students of the university in Yerevan are collecting deputies' votes for a special session of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia to decide on the incorporation of the autonomous oblast of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is situated in neighboring Azerbaijan. None of the deputies had yet refused to sign. However, the students had also threatened to work for the deputies' immediate deselection if they did not sign.

IZVESTIYA Reports Hijack Attempt Events
LD101806 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] The following report can't leave anyone feeling indifferent. As has already been reported, on 8 March a group of armed criminals attempted to hijack a TU-154 passenger aircraft flying the Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad route, in order to force it abroad. Details of the event are reported today by the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

The criminals revealed themselves only after taking off from Kurgan. Insofar as there were many empty seats in the aircraft, they had succeeded in gathering together in the tail section. They summoned a stewardess and, through her, passed on a note for the crew bearing the words: "Fly for a capitalist country—London. Do not descend or we shall detonate. Your flight is under control." The crew's fight for the life of the passengers began. Immediately they contacted ground services, and all their subsequent actions were coordinated. The flight engineer sought to tone down the hysterical attitude

which had already begun to manifest itself in the actions of the criminal group. He told them that the aircraft had to land for refuelling, but in response heard the former threats.

On board were three stewardesses: Valya, Ira, and Tamara. For one of them—(Tamara Zharkoy), 8 March became the last day of her life. Eyewitnesses note that three leaders were singled out in the bandit grouping: Vasilii and Oleg Ovechkin and their mother, a woman of a little over 50-years old and stylishly dressed. The criminals were told that they were to land for refuelling in the Finnish town of Kotka, but the place chosen for landing was an airport near Leningrad. More than an hour remained for the ground services staff to prepare for this meeting.

Unfortunately, not everything was thought through and done in such way as to avoid complications. When the aircraft touched the landing strip, both the passengers and, of course, the criminals too, saw Soviet soldiers. This seized their emotions and, at this moment, the first shots were heard.

An assault group [gruppa zakhvata] approached the aircraft in refuelling vehicles. Five people from this group forced their way into the cabin. The bandits frenziedly surged toward the pilot. In order to assist the penetration group [gruppa proniknoveniya], the crew created noisy diversions. Two fighters, who had caused the criminals to discharge their pistols fell, streaming with blood, to the floor of the cabin. Luckily, their wounds proved not to be fatal. An explosion was heard, and the tail section was set on fire; the bandits realized that the aircraft was on fire and that they had no choice [as heard]. There was shooting from all sides. At this moment, according to eyewitnesses, the bandits shot down the mother. Two of them killed themselves; another died in the explosion, and the remaining group of bandits was arrested.

A stewardess and three passengers died. An investigation is being conducted into this crime. The Prosecutor's Office has instigated criminal proceedings.

Procurators Discuss Restructuring
LD052200 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1625 GMT 3 Mar 88

["Man and Law" program]

[Excerpts] In February there was an expanded meeting of the Collegium of the USSR Procuracy. Procurators from the oblasts, krays, autonomous, and union republics came to Moscow to hold a serious and committed discussion about the progress of restructuring in the supreme state supervisory bodies. A critical analysis of the problems requiring expeditious solution was made by USSR Procurator General Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Rekunkov. In particular he had this to say:

[Begin Rekunkov recording] You cannot change things without changing yourself. Those words were said by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and they explain very well the reasons for our shortcomings and the slowness of restructuring in many very important areas of cadre and other activity carried out by the procuracy. What is essentially going on now in the procuracy, as everywhere else, is a clear struggle between what is progressive and modern and what is stagnant and retrograde. It requires developing serious discussion, first and foremost, about the principled nature, competence, and professionalism of the leaders of the procuracy, and their responsibility for the course of restructuring—in other words the people who are called upon to organize and direct restructuring—and also discussion about the responsibility of the whole apparatus of the procuracy in the republics, krays, and oblasts, and the central apparatus of the USSR procuracy.

Why was it that the Volynskaya Oblast procurator, Comrade Naydenko, stood firm despite strong pressure and resistance and defended the interests of legality, while those who didn't want to reckon with him received strict punishment themselves? The answer to that is simple, comrades: Comrade Naydenko has the qualities of a communist leader of today which are in accord with both the spirit of the time and the requirements of restructuring. The Pavlodar Oblast procurator, Comrade (Maleyev), avoids all controversial issues. This leads us to wonder what we are subsequently going to do with him. Why is it that in Georgia the procuracy upholds the principle that everyone is equal before the law while in other neighboring republics this does not happen? What is the conclusion to be drawn? Wherever procurators find and utilize advanced methods and actively develop them, the result brought forth is substantial and positive. [end recording]

In a recess between the sessions, our correspondent Rostislav Andreyev spoke with a group of procurators. [video shows Andreyev seated with five men, captioned as: L.P. Baranov, Moscow City Procurator; N.N. Naydenko, Volynskaya Oblast procurator; G.I. Ivantsov, Kirgiz SSR procurator; D.A. Usatov, Uzbek SSR procurator; and V.V. Tikhotskiy, southwestern transport procurator]

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Naydenko] The Collegium has set us the target of making a self-critical analysis of what has been done, because, I will say frankly, we are to a large extent guilty of what the party Central Committee has described as the miscalculations that were made, even of such dramatic events as the development of the personality cult, the period of stagnation, and other negative phenomena. Of course the procuracy, including all of us sitting here who have been in the procuracy for a long time, is responsible for that sort of thing. Now we have a guideline that we are to use.

[Ivantsov] The most important idea that came out in the report by the procurator general is without doubt that of strengthening our general supervisory work and—something that was said in the Central Committee resolution

on intensifying the supervisory role of the procuracy—that it is time the procurators ceased their faulty practice of supplanting economic, control, and other bodies. The procuracy is not a control body; it is a supervisory one, the supreme supervisory body, and it is our duty—as was said in the Central Committee resolution—to follow how the chiefs of ministries, departments, enterprises, organizations and institutions are themselves putting their sections in order and how they themselves are strengthening legality. What the weakness has unfortunately been in the supervisory function of the procuracy—and this was spelled out in the party document and the report by the procurator general—is that in the past we tried to bite off more than we could chew. As soon as any alarm call was sounded, we tried, even with the limited strength we had, to get something done, to get things changed. Nothing comes of that. There needs to be a qualitative change in the approach to our work. That, I think, was the idea that chiefly ran through the report of the procurator general.

The second thing is that now any infringements of the law—particularly, of course, in the procuracy bodies—cannot be tolerated. Aleksandr Mikhaylovich said bluntly that it is time we put our own house in order. I think, though, that we have to be realists. We can't set some date, for example, and say that by that date there will be no infringements of the law. That would just be a utopia. But what we can say is that we have a duty to react in the proper way to every infringement of the law—and not only us in the procuracy but in all the law enforcement bodies. That's point number one; and point number two, not only from a disciplinary viewpoint but also from a party viewpoint. This, unfortunately, is moving ahead with very great difficulty at present. The way we are accustomed to doing it is, for example, to issue a reprimand and then let the matter be dealt with by the party. Many party members do not even understand the provisions of paragraph 12 of the party statute—that a party member has a dual responsibility: to the state and the party. We are now striving toward that. We react from a disciplinary viewpoint and at the same time the party organization decides what penalty to pass down to a Communist for what he has done. That was the second idea that came out in the report, that we must be irreconcilable and react to every instance of infringement of the law.

Third—I think the comrades here will agree with me—quite a substantial part of the report was devoted to increasing glasnost and to our forms of contact with ordinary citizens. Examples were quoted from a number of areas where people have literally for years been unable to see various officials in the procuracy, let alone be able to get a first appointment. In this respect we also need to fundamentally restructure things. A procurator must be accessible. Any citizen can and should be able to see him, tell him his troubles, and confide his problem to him, and the procurator is obliged by the post that he holds to take some sort of measures. So at the moment the question of organizing meetings with members of the

public and dealing with their requests is a very acute one. I think there should be some sort of feedback; we should not only issue directions from above but should also be absorbing information from below—not from the offices passing on the instructions but from ordinary citizens.

[Andreyev] I should like to interrupt our conversation to introduce Dmitriy Aleksandrovich Usatov. Just a few months ago Dmitriy Aleksandrovich...

[Usatov, interrupting] Two months ago.

[Andreyev] Two months ago became the Uzbek SSR Procurator. His area is extremely difficult and complex, as we all know, and I imagine it's not an easy job for you, is it?

[Usatov] Well, you know, I don't think that the situation in the republic should be dramatized, though it is indeed rather strained. The figure given in the report today for the period of stagnation—the period of stagnation under Sharaf Rashidovich [Rashidov], was over R3 billion in damage done by the altering of figures in the so-called cotton cases. But to date criminal proceedings have been brought against more than 4,000 officials, including a great many kolkhoz and sovkhoz chiefs, first secretaries of party committees, obkom first secretaries, and so forth. In our area perhaps the most frightening thing is that as a result of all that business with the cotton and other things—now there are big cases involving dairy products and other instances of altering figures, which incidentally haven't finally come to an end, and there have just been nine cases involving figure-padding alone, again with cotton—the most frightening thing is it has demoralized the cadres. The amounts lost are vast and it has thoroughly demoralized the cadres, from the highest ranks to the lowest.

[Andreyev] Recently, thanks to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, all-union publicity was given to the Odilov story, and many people, of course, felt this was a terrible thing. [passage omitted]

But what is more frightening in my view, as a journalist, is that today Odilov's new successor acts in exactly the same way. What is this? How can we speak about restructuring when the same thing is being repeated there?

[Usatov] It's a throwback to the old days. In the procuracy there, there have been changes so that one in every three workers in the republican procuracy have less than 3 years experience. It would seem that young cadres have come in, wouldn't it? But that means absolutely nothing, because the people that have come to us—young people who have just graduated from institute or school—were raised, absorbed things, and grew up in an environment where extortion, bribery, all sorts of fraud, and so on were the norm. The more you took, the more you were esteemed. So of course these young people, growing up as small children, then adolescents, then as students,

absorbed all of this. So it's impossible, of course, to rid them of all these distortions at the first attempt and that is why all these phenomena still occur. And the Odilovism—it's not just Odilov, it's Odilovism, that must be viewed as a phenomenon—is a unique and extremely negative manifestation of the stagnant atmosphere that came about under Rashidov: The areas that were placed beyond criticism, the selection of cadres, these were all a vivid manifestation of it. I don't know, but I don't think that anything like that will happen again in our country. I hope!

[Andreyev] The same thing is probably happening again.

[Baranov] The breaking of stereotypes requires time, patience and a system.

[Usatov] Quite right!

[Baranov] We need great patience and we need to continue rigidly pursuing the party line toward solving all these problems.

[Andreyev] Well, as far as rigidity and firmness are concerned, when I was listening to the report by Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Rekunkov, I experienced an enormous feeling of satisfaction and happiness for Nikolay Nikolayevich [Naydenko] whose adherence to principle and firmness were spoken of from that lofty rostrum. What was it that helped you to emerge the winner?

[Naydenko] Well, what can I say? I don't really like to recall the events that were covered by PRAVDA and which were subsequently checked out by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee following my letter to them. They concluded that the oblast procuracy—not only me, but also the overwhelming majority of the town and rayon procurators—had adopted a stance of principle on all the issues. That stance was that the former leadership—Party Obkom First Secretary Kovalchuk, Second Secretary Zhibrov, and other secretaries, in particular Lutsk Party Gorkom First Secretary Kosenko, who were a minority, of course—attempted to pursue their own line. Although it wasn't of course Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan, similar things happened, but on a smaller scale.

[Andreyev] In other words, there's nothing wrong with pursuing one's own line but it musn't go against the law.

[Naydenko] That's absolutely right. It was a line of parochialism, a line of shifting the burden of responsibility, for example, from off the people who were close to that leadership. Because of that there arose an acute situation when that leadership tried to do as they wanted with officers of the procuracy who had taken principled action in a criminal case involving housing bodies in the city of Lutsk. Criminal proceedings were brought there against 14 people, including the former gorispolkom chairman Litvinenko. I won't go into this, as it's a lengthy story, but finally he was convicted of having

accepted bribes and for his negligence in having signed blank authorization forms with an official stamp, which the people working in the housing bodies used to obtain bribes. In all, that group of people received R67,000 in bribes. That was the issue on which we crossed swords. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Importance of Leader's Personal Morality Noted
PM081541 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88
Second Edition p 3

[Interview with G. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev party obkom, by V. Kozhemyako and special correspondent M. Odinets under the rubric "Reflections Before the Party Conference": "Personality and Duty"—date not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Kiev Oblast—The editorial mail nowadays contains a particularly large quantity of letters about the moral and spiritual character of Communists and leaders. "One way or another, we follow our leaders' example," N. Kovalenko from the city of Borispol, Kiev Oblast, remarks. "We want to learn from them not only action, but also lofty morality. But is everyone who is entrusted with leadership capable of teaching such lessons?"

We put this question to G. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev party obkom.

[Revenko] You ask: Is everyone capable? I have no intention of giving a categorical affirmative. Because even in the recent past, while I have been head of the obkom, I have on many occasions witnessed moral inconsistency on the part of some of our leadership officials.

Of course, this does not become apparent at once. To start with, people utter fine words from the rostrum, instructing others how to live and calling for honesty and justice. But at some point he has to pass one of life's tests—and it transpires that he himself is unable to live up to his own slogans.

Look, for example, at the different ways in which people behaved in Chernobyl after the accident! Aleksandr Sergeyevich Gamanyuk, first secretary of the Prip'yat party gorkom, insisted on being discharged from the hospital where he was undergoing treatment for a perforated stomach ulcer. And he literally immersed himself in work, without avoiding even the most dangerous sectors. Members of all the commissions rotated, but he was the only one who remained there right through to the fall.

On the other hand we have Sichkarenko, branch chief of the "Yuzhatomenergostroytrans" Association, who abandoned his collective to its fate and went to organize his personal affairs. It was, of course, correct that he was expelled from the party and dismissed from the leadership position.

[Correspondents] But, Grigoriy Ivanovich, Chernobyl was an extreme situation. Suppose there had been no accident. It looks as if that same Sichkarenko would have been left there in charge of people for years on end, and would even have been considered a good leader. Is this a realistic assumption?

[Revenko] I suppose so. There is some food for thought here.

[Correspondents] A good leader and a bad man. Is this combination possible within the same person?

[Revenko] I am certain that it is not. I believe that a bad man can under no circumstances be a good leader. A bad man may give the appearance of being a good leader for a time, but he cannot actually be one.

Let me mention the best among my comrades in the party organization and in work. Take for example Yuriy Alekseyevich Krasnoshapka, first secretary of the Belaya Tserkov party gorkom, or Aleksey Gavrilovich Bolshechenko, director of the Brovary powder metallurgy plant, and many others. What is their strength? Personal integrity, the combination of lofty professional and moral qualities.

[Correspondents] But you must agree that a one-sided official approach is still frequently applied in real life toward the assessment of leaders. Ensure plan fulfillment—and all is well. Never mind the methods used to ensure it.

[Revenko] This does happen, I agree. But times are changing and, I think, will increasingly change these assessments. Naturally, any leader needs know-how and the ability to organize work. But equal importance attaches also to honesty, modesty, probity, conscientiousness, and intolerance of flattery and toadyism.

Let me cite a specific example. From the purely professional point of view, Peltek, first secretary of the Ivankovskiy party raykom, seemed to be quite a good worker. But he was also rude and inattentive toward people. A triviality? People were unwilling to tolerate this, and Peltek had to leave the raykom.

It is well-known that, in a leader, any personal quality acquires social importance. Rudeness and capriciousness are unpleasant even in daily life. But they are absolutely impermissible in a position of leadership. It is an important party demand that self-satisfied, arrogant, and uncultured people should not be in party work.

I often think about overreporting. Why is it still so tenacious? At a recent obkom bureau session we again discussed a whole series of instances of overreporting and the oblast newspaper published a long article. It said, for example, that Adamkovich, sovkhoz director in Brovarskiy Rayon, kept about 300 unreported cows. Their calves were not reported, either, and farm leaders,

including the director, used them as their personal source of meat supply. Areas sown to potatoes went unreported, while hay, haylage, and much else was overreported.

This nothing but fraud pure and simple. And who was defrauding the state? A Communist, a leader. He was, of course, dismissed from work and expelled from the party. But we need to think: Where do such people come from, how are their personalities shaped? There must have been a time when he took his first step away from simple probity.

[Correspondents] Some people believe that probity is rather a vague term...

[Revenko] Why should they? Now the first section of our party statutes reads: "It is incumbent on party members...to display modesty and probity." It is actually a pity that for some time we clearly paid insufficient attention to this. Now we are striving to change the prevailing situation.

Let us examine a few more instances from our oblast party organization's life. Gasenko used to head the oblast People's Control Committee. It would seem beyond all doubt that someone in this position ought to be an example of probity. He, however, started accepting offerings or, as people here say, sops. Maybe not on the scale of Uzbekistan or Kazakhstan. Farm leaders presented him with boxes of tomatoes or cucumbers, or chrome hubcaps for his official "Volga."

Afterwards some people were inclined to describe all this as trivia. But the obkom thought otherwise: use of official position for personal gain. Gasenko was dismissed as chairman of the People's Control Committee, he was reprimanded, and his record was endorsed.

A leader is particularly noticeable when it comes to his attitude toward shortcomings. Mildness and leniency may at times be forgivable in everyday life. But if you are the leader of people you must be consistently firm and principled, able to rely on the collective, to tactfully heed other people's ideas, and not to think that your personal opinion is the only correct one. Practical work convinces me that, in this context, there can be no halfheartedness in leaders of any rank. Otherwise this leads to serious errors in work, as happened with Domnich, former first secretary of the Pereyaslav-Khmelnitskiy party gorkom. The same can be said about former First Secretaries Khodakovskiy of the Fastov Gorkom and Zholudenko of Kagarlyskiy Raykom.

Khodakovskiy, for example, actively defended a kolkhoz chairman who had compromised himself. The chairman had been guilty of arbitrariness, had violated kolkhoz discipline, and had abused his official position. On the whole, it was clear that the primary party organization

had been absolutely correct in its decision to expel him from the party. Yet the gorkom secretary started exerting pressure on Communists, demanding that the decision be reversed....

Others, once in a leadership position, become rather too enthusiastic about organizing their personal affairs. Parakhnyuk, right after becoming first secretary of the Yagotinskiy Raykom, transferred his brother to "his" rayon, found him a job, and gave him housing without regard for the waiting list. Burnyshev, while head of the Vasilkov Gorkom, allowed his wife to take over the distribution of scarce goods in the local supermarket. Both of them have been relieved of their work as secretaries.

[Correspondents] But we read newspaper reports about the Vasilkov party gorkom plenum, and there was no mention of his wife there. Moreover, there was no mention of this fact in Burnyshev's personal assessment, either. How is this to be explained in the time of glasnost?

[Revenko] As one of our mistakes. I agree that this should not have been passed over in silence. I would like to say a few words about personal assessments. They are still very standard and formal. They contain the same old stereotyped phrases from which it is difficult to get an idea of the real man. As regards the moral aspect, the assessments quite often simply do not cover it. At best, everything boils down to the laconic and meaningless: "Morally stable."

Yes, there must be fundamental changes in personal assessments and the approach toward them. Lenin's "Letter to the Congress" could be a sound guideline for us in this respect. How meaningful and accurate were Ilich's assessments of people!

[Correspondents] Great expectations are now pinned on the election of leaders as regards improving the selection of cadres. As far as we know, your oblast is also using this democratic form for their promotion. What tangible results has it produced?

[Revenko] Last year collectives discussed 2,113 candidates for promotion, representing 80 percent of the total number of new leaders. Precisely 366 candidates were rejected. Secret ballots were used to elect 63 chairmen of rural and settlement soviet ispolkoms and 26 enterprise directors and kolkhoz chairmen. Party raykom secretaries are also elected with increasing frequency from among several candidates by secret ballot.

What does this produce? Primarily an opportunity for greater accuracy in selecting leaders of the modern mold capable of perceiving the demands of restructuring and resolving qualitatively new tasks. The main conditions

during elections are: Maximum consideration of people's opinion, prevention of dominance by ambitious or timeserving considerations, election of the worthiest candidate.

This is what we are striving for. Before the election of party raykom first secretaries, local newspapers in some rayons publish biographical details of candidates and ask all residents to express their opinions, wishes, and proposals, either in writing or by telephone. There were more than 40 replies during the election of the Vasilkov Gorkom first secretary. Thus it was not only the plenum but also a much broader circle of people who participated in the election. We can assume that neighbors and anyone else who knew the nominated candidates could have expressed their opinions.

We have embarked on a course of supporting enterprising, thinking, and energetic people capable of self-critically assessing the state of affairs, abandoning formalism and stereotypes in work, and finding new solutions to produce tangible positive results, while remaining modest and industrious. Let me note that much more attention is paid to moral qualities: They are no longer treated as something of secondary importance.

[Correspondents] The personality is man's spiritual world; man's interests, culture, and erudition. Is all this taken into account when leaders are selected, and do they manage to systematically work on themselves afterwards?

[Revenko] You have raised an important question. Nowadays I personally am experiencing this quite acutely. Wherever I go, in addition to any other questions, people often start asking about your opinion of "White Coats" or "The Bull," of a topical journal article, or of some new television program. It is awkward to have to say: I have not seen it yet, I have not read it yet. It is impossible to watch and read everything. On the other hand, we should not lag behind the people, either. The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum spoke in a particularly convincing fashion about the cultural standards of party workers and leaders of any rank. There can be no democracy without culture.

But it is here that we party leaders, as well as economic leaders, have our problems. We do not have fixed working hours, our workday may stretch from early morning until midnight. Just try to find some time to read or go to the movies between meetings with people, work on documents, and all the numerous conferences and sessions.

But the point probably is that less of our time ought to be devoted to these conferences. It is extremely necessary for us to have time for self-education and cultural growth. Otherwise people would turn into mediocre

functionaries—not much different from machines. And who needs such leaders nowadays? In my view, this is an important question for the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference.

I personally have great respect for comrades like Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Moroz, secretary of the party committee of oblast organizations and institutions [title as published], who manages to keep up to date with all the main book and journal news, or Petr Fedoseyevich Volokha, director of the front-ranking "Ploskovskiy" Sovkhoz, who has an amazing knowledge of poetry and songs and is himself quite a good singer. In short, I am in favor of leaders who are comprehensively developed and whom people find professionally and spiritually interesting.

One can only feel sad and annoyed at the continued existence of leaders who, as people say, want to know nothing beyond a scant selection of most elementary demands. I would call this a deliberate narrow-mindedness. Yet, it is accompanied by such self-confidence and aplomb! They believe the position they hold automatically guarantees their prestige. But this is certainly not so. Prestige is gained as a result of a comprehensively rich personality, through daily, properly creative, motivating labor, dedication, keen civic attitudes, and impeccable morals.

It is not only by skillfully running affairs but also by living according to truth and conscience that we will be able to fire people's enthusiasm for the noble goals of restructuring and solve the most complex tasks posed by time.

Writer Calls For Return to Spiritual Values

PM091025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88
First Edition p 3

[Viktor Gorn "Writer's Diary" article: "Spiritual Unemployment"]

[Text] Barnaul—When asked "How is life?", Lev Tolstoy would reply: "Unsettled, thank God." The time we live in is unsettled. Times are changing and, one would like to believe, seriously. Let us hope that the thaw glimpsed 30 years ago has now been succeeded by a lasting spring auguring well for the shoots of the future. But questions which have long perturbed the soul are still seeking an answer today, in a persistent and unsettling fashion.

A stream of computations, figures, and examples indicating society's economic problems has recently descended upon us from all sorts of conferences and newspaper pages. Different and generally correct conclusions are being drawn, and we perceive the consequences of the destructive inertia of stagnation.

But where did this stagnation come from? Was it due only to our backward equipment? Was it due only to the fact that we had taken the extensive rather than the intensive path of production development?

No, it was not due only to that! It was also largely due to what was happening to us, to man's spiritual and moral world.

For a long time we pushed questions of spirituality, morality, and culture to the background. Even now one senses at times that same old attitude: First a leap in the economy, and only then will we start thinking about spirituality. But it becomes apparent (for the umpteenth time!) that this is not the way. While accelerating economic development, we cannot allow any lagging in spiritual progress. M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum that now "the problems of spiritual culture are emerging largely in a new fashion. Their new aspect is determined by the way we are now turning to man and facing up to his real nature, potential, and needs—because man does not live by bread alone, and not even by modern material wealth alone."

What was happening in recent years? An impoverishment of the spiritual world of many people who had been deprived of an opportunity to transform the energy of thinking and feeling into action. This produced social unbelief and skepticism.

And what did this lead to? Stagnation; including moral, spiritual, and—consequently—economic stagnation. Why should I exert myself, one heard it said all over the place, since, whatever I do, I won't be able to break through the wall of indifference?

How moral terms have changed! This is what V. Rasputin wrote in "Conflagration" [Pozhar]: "It was not done and was unacceptable, now it is done and is acceptable; it was not allowed, now it is allowed; it was considered a disgrace and a mortal sin, now it is considered a display of smartness and prowess."

Are not many of us still shamefully unwilling to interfere in anything? Are we not still in the grips of the "keep your nose out of it" attitude which was cultivated for years on end? Give it time, let's wait a while, we'll see about it later.

Another question: Is everything today actually done in order to awaken man's genuine and deep-seated desire for creative action?

Questions, questions.... Cooperatives, for example, are probably a good thing. But there are also doubts: Will the ruble again become the yardstick for measuring human values? Let's saturate the market, let's ensure supplies. And then what? In the very early days of the Soviet state, People's Commissar for Education A. Lunacharskiy expressed fears that enthusiasm for "Americanism"

could lead young people to the ideal of "a strong and clever person capable of 'healthy' work, living well on the cash he earns, and listening with a smile of equally 'healthy' skepticism to 'gibberish' about some sort of universal values."

God forbid that sometime in the future we should be approached by "a pale-faced teenager with eyes aflame with passion" who would ask, like Dostoyevskiy's hero (in "The Adolescent"), what is the "great idea" to which it is worth dedicating one's whole self.

"Well, transforming rocks into loaves of bread is a great idea."

"The greatest? No, in truth you have pointed out the entire path, so tell me, is it the greatest?"

"A very great one, my friend, very great but not the greatest. It is great but subsidiary, it is only great at a given moment in time: After man has been fed, he will forget it; indeed, he will immediately say: 'Well, now I've been fed, what am I to do next?'"

No society will ever attain its goals if it replaces the spiritual and moral by the material, unless it enriches itself with faith in the purity of ideals.

It is a pity that we quickly forget certain truths. Here, for example, we have an idea from L. Tolstoy's diaries: "The organization of external forms of social life without internal improvement is tantamount to erecting in a new style but without mortar a ramshackle edifice of unhewn stone. No matter how you erect it, it will not be protected against bad weather and it will fall down again."

I am convinced that the world's viability depends on a spirituality which takes priority over everything and embraces everything. Our goal is creative. But creativity itself can only grow in a spiritual soil.

Yes, man is in no hurry to change. But his determined drive toward all-victorious spirituality is altogether impossible without the solution of cultural tasks which, according to V.I. Lenin, demand the utmost tenacity, persistence, and systematicness.

After all, all of man's deeds and actions are essentially spiritual or nonspiritual, moral or immoral. A sense of responsibility for the assigned work is spiritual, irresponsibility is nonspiritual.

Here is what Academician V. Legasov thought of the causes of the Chernobyl tragedy: "Poor technical standards, the poor standard of those people's responsibility—that is not the cause but the effect. The effect of their poor moral standards."

And if we at different levels, at the start of changes in our society, fail to convince ourselves that economy and morality are inseparable, that will be a tragic mistake.

No, I am not storming gates that are wide open, the open gates are still far into the future and many people are trying to keep them tightly shut. Our inbred bureaucratic and departmental thinking is particularly stubborn. It is this thinking which is utterly uninterested in the development of the spirituality directly linked to glasnost.

Bureaucratic thinking has always blocked and still blocks any advance by society, any initiative by man. Why? Simply because more often than not or even almost always officialdom is something nonspiritual, and therefore irresponsible, incapable of sticking its neck out and making decisions. How many remarkable ideas have perished and how many human souls have been injured in this tough clash with nonspirituality.

But what sort of person is the master of his own work? Apart from anything else, he is someone intelligent and conscientious, incapable of hackwork. His conscience plays the role of state acceptance. He is, as a rule, someone who thinks along state lines.

Did anyone in our country ever give any attention to the cultural standards of, say, a leader? But experience shows that high standards of culture are accompanied by better production results. Today we have people freely electing enterprise leaders, listening to their programs, asking them questions. It seems to me, however, that no future leader was ever asked what he thought of the overall way of life.

Questions, questions.... Here is another one. It seems as if everyone ought to be clearly aware that ideology must be the commissar of renewal, but in practice this is again often forgotten, people get bogged down in economic problems and assume, by virtue of inertia, that they can be resolved without the implementation of spiritual changes.

But everything boils down to man. Everything comes from man and everything returns to man. Man has a vital need for faith, for a sense of community and brotherhood, of unity and kinship, which alone give full meaning to life.

A principled approach toward the perception of culture's role and importance in the new conditions is an important aspect of the matter. But it is not its sole aspect. The question is inevitable: What is the actual state of culture itself, of literature and art? Is everything in proper order? What is, for example, being offered to young people as a yardstick?

To judge by some of the mass media, one might imagine that there is simply nothing more important than the problems of rockers, break-dancers, heavy metal fans, and so on. But why are we so worried about them? Is this the real aspect of our culture? What parts of the human spirit does such a culture enrich?

One gets the feeling that the "entertainment addicts" have decided that society's renewal is primarily for them; they claim that newspapers, radio, and television ought to propagandize and uphold their interests and their needs. Them and nobody else but them—this is a sign of the time. Anyone who does not understand this is retrograde and conservative.

Now one hears asked more and more often: "Is it easy to be young?" And we often reply with compassion: "It is hard, oh, so hard." But how right was Valentin Rasputin when he asked in his speech at the Shukshin festival: "But is it easy to be old? Is it easy to be middle-aged and carry all these burdens?" And, by extrapolating the idea, it is perfectly natural to ask: "But is it easy to be a man?"

I hope that society's democratic aspirations are primarily a sign of the awakening of genuine culture despite the infernal scum of pseudoculture which has descended upon man in the form of a torrent of triteness which has a destructive influence on unstable souls and minds. Nonspirituality, as always, is loudly claiming its place under the sun, pushing any opponents aside.

Alas, it is the screaming cassette rather than the book that is the idol to be worshiped. The fruits of primitivism which spread widely in the last few years have done their work—they have lowered the ethical and aesthetic standards of readers and viewers, and have made many people forget the art of serious thinking which demands spiritual work and exertion in return, offering in exchanges various surrogates. Who among us has not witnessed the thumping of seats and heard doors squeaking as they open, casting light on the backs of those leaving the auditorium. They did not leave in the middle of "New Amazons" or "Aircrash Treasures," but in the middle of "Sign of Calamity," feeling no shared pain and compassion, unwilling to understand the suffering of the people or to be involved in their country's fate.

None of this is as simple or as innocuous as it may appear to some people. The "entertainment candy" may turn out to be bitter.

Today we are already faced with a threatening reality which runs counter to the spiritual nourishment of culture and national traditions. It is no accident that everything connected with national and folk aspects is proclaimed obsolete, while that same old nonspirituality, materializing in the most different forms, is the sign of the modern. The solution lies in the affirmation of spirituality looming high above pragmatic hustle.

I do not agree with economists who make allowances for unemployment in our state, but I am convinced that there must be no spiritual unemployment either.

Aims, Philosophy of Pamyat Attacked

PM071416 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 88
Morning Edition p 3

[Article by special correspondent Pavel Gutiontov:
"Substitution"—boldface as published]

[Text] The informal association Pamyat has chosen a bell as its emblem.

They put the bell in the middle of their oval seal (how could they manage without a seal!), and only recently they certified with this seal each of the 11 pages of the "Appeal to Patriots of All Countries and Nations." The "Appeal," with its seals on every page, took on an awe-inspiring respectability, although it is hard to discover what Pamyat wants from the "patriots of all countries and nations" by reading the text. It is not clear, for instance, what measures the "patriots" are supposed to take by way of restoring to the ranks of the CPSU the two Pamyat leaders who were expelled. Indeed, what kind of appeal body is that—"patriots of all countries"?... There are, of course, more specific appeals too—to Soviet Army servicemen, for instance, to MVD and KGB workers.... It is stated outright: "We should not be afraid of violence...." Also striking is the proposal to set up "people's tribunals" everywhere—true, what they are is not explained, but the very name is sinister, having originated, as you know, in fascist Germany and having gone out of existence there in 1945.... The Appeal has been photocopied, with seven signatures, the seal with the bell.... In short, it is a disgrace.

On 26 January members of Pamyat dressed in black t-shirts with that same bell on them (so they have a uniform now!) went to the ZIL [Likhachev Truck Plant in Moscow] Palace of Culture. And Muscovites finally had the opportunity to see the owners of these t-shirts on television and compare their own impressions of what they said with what the press writes about Pamyat. The impressions more or less coincided. "Hysterics," "chauvinism," "demagogy"—that is how the truck plant workers who own the Palace of Culture described what they heard during the meeting.

It was news. That is to say, once again Pamyat is on the crest of public attention. Once again its activists have set all the bells ringing, as the saying goes. And once again people are trying to persuade them to settle down once and for all to something socially useful.

A lot of noise.

The truck plant workers' proposal to take part in the restoration of the Simonov Monastery (whose fate has been the subject of so many ardent speeches at Pamyat sessions) and set up a historico-cultural center there and a museum of the heroes of the Battle of Kulikovo was rejected indignantly. No! the Pamyat leaders replied resolutely. It seems they still prefer to "save" "Russia as a whole"....

Pamyat calls itself a "historico-patriotic" association. But I think caution should be exercised in taking on trust this responsible epithet—if only because in the Russian language it has never been customary to use the word "patriot" in the first person. The language, wise and pure, does not brook hypocrisy. Yet these people are constantly attesting themselves to be "guardians of the spirit," "champions of Russian culture," and "true patriots"—without false modesty, or any other kind.

As for history, the Pamyat orators, on the whole, garble it shamelessly—some from ignorance and some from unscrupulousness. But garble it they do—because true history has never yet given any people of the world the slightest justification for believing that "we are best of all!" Still less is there the slightest justification for representing history itself as an unbroken chain of attempts by a perfidious enemy to corrupt and then destroy from within the Russian "chosen people," the only people capable of resisting the Zionists' and Masons' plans for worldwide domination. Pamyat's leaders propose to look at everything that happens from precisely this point of view, as a result of which the association's sessions invariably take place in an atmosphere of emotion, hysteria, maniacal suspicion, and public slander of those whom they suspect.

And unfortunately, in its tireless quest for mythical enemies Pamyat has found a "theoretical justification."

"It seems that the guests and favorite lecturers of Pamyat have included V. Yevseyev, V. Begun, and A. Romanenko, authors of articles and books propagandizing the 'conspiracy' concept and full of large numbers of all kinds of erroneous premises and inaccuracies which lead us to assess their works as unscientific and as tending to mislead the reader...."

That is what SOVETSKAYA KULTURA wrote last June, and to this day it is conducting a series of tiresome court cases, because the learned gentlemen who were mentioned firmly disagreed with the assessments of their works. And while Begun accused the newspaper merely of "fabrications" and of trying to "discredit an embarrassing writer," Yevseyev also perceived "complicity in a coordinated act by Zionist elements," and Romanenko even more: "assistance to the Zionists (fascists) in the political struggle against the USSR."

In the first place, it can hardly be called ethical for Communists to go to court with what is basically an ideological and political case against a party newspaper; in any event, the CPSU Statutes make available to each of them other opportunities for defending their positions and good name. It is also regrettable that their party organizations showed so little interest in what happened in the courtroom—unlike, for instance, the correspondents from a number of Western agencies and publications accredited to Moscow: They were constantly present at the court.

I can testify as an eyewitness: Each court session on each of these three cases is worthy of a separate essay. All the plaintiffs claimed to be serious scientists and to know nothing of Pamyat, although the biggest courtroom in Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon Court was packed to overflowing with members of that association. The well known Pamyat leader D. Vasilyev went about with Yevseyev during the breaks, putting an arm round his shoulder and calling him Zhenya. The Leningrader Romanenko appeared in court with a Pamyat badge—the ancient Moscow coat of arms—on his lapel. Boys from Pamyat obligingly helped Begun, from Minsk, with his briefcase and tape-recorded the trial....

In general, there were unimaginable scenes. The "fans" were constantly shouting something or other, commenting on the course of the trial, and trying to take photographs, the judges ejected them from the courtroom, they resisted.... Yemelyanov, author of a ludicrous anti-Semitic samizdat opus, once turned up in a homemade t-shirt bearing the legend: "De-Zionization now!" When the judge read out the resolution on the dismissal of Yevseyev's suit, a colorful bearded individual declared: "But there is God's court!..." to applause from his supporters.... Romanenko also distinguished himself: He demanded that before the start of the hearing, the members of the court declare their nationality, and when this was refused, he left the courtroom....

In general it is hard to imagine anything more likely to play into the hands of our ideological adversaries (real, not imagined) than the events arranged in the Sverdlovskiy People's Court by people calling themselves "implacable fighters against Zionism." Should we perhaps now dwell in more detail on the ideas expressed in their books, articles, and lectures by these three candidates of sciences—a philosopher and two historians? At the request of the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA editorial office, opinions on their works were submitted by the Institute of the United States and Canada and the laboratory for the study of Israel at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Through dozens of pages of typescript the authors of the opinions scrupulously enumerated distortions and misquotations drastically changing the sense of the original, the uncritical utilization of Western propaganda literature, the juggling of facts.... "Begun substitutes...for the tenets of Marxist-Leninist criticism of Zionism unscientific concepts going back to frankly anti-Soviet and anticommunist sources".... "Zionist literature and propaganda emphasizes in every way the errors and shortcomings in Yevseyev's works, so as to slander the Soviet state and social system...." Yevseyev protested: "The editorial office has turned to my scientific adversaries, and they are trying to discredit my scientific ideas...." But it is not only a question of scientific ideas—it is a question of the elementary correctness of the facts, the accuracy of the quotations on which these ideas are based. A lawyer, Yevseyev's advocate, intervened and observed instructively: "You must understand that the scientific approach and authenticity are entirely different things...."

And so on.

The experts noticed in V. Begun's books a whole series of textual similarities with no less a work than the bible of German fascism, "Mein Kampf"—"here the author uses the unsubtle method of substituting the word 'Zionist' for the word 'Jew' and then follows the original closely, from time to time interspersing the text with pseudo-Marxist phraseology...."

"What do you have to say about that, plaintiff?" the judge asked Begun.

"All that simply makes me laugh," the scientist replied.

So should we be laughing too?...

In his public lectures V. Begun, staffer of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law, declares Albert Einstein to be a major Zionist, and the story "Mowgli" an instruction manual in the setting up of subversive organizations (in Novosibirsk one of his audience exclaimed in horror: "But I gave my daughter that dreadful thing to read!..."). In Minsk, from the television screen, he tries to frighten the viewers by showing them a child's plastic "construction set," explaining that the hexagonal nuts are the result of a Zionist provocation, as is the portrayal of snowflakes on the cloaks of the New Year Grandfather Frosts (could someone please explain to Begun that six-pointed snowflakes occur not by the sinister design of an internal enemy, but according to the immutable laws of physics, and that they simply cannot be any other way?).

It is now 10 years since the late Academician M. Korostovtsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium's standing commission for criticism of Zionist ideology, described V. Begun's view of many cardinal questions on that subject as "depressingly simplistic, ignorant, and harmful in many ways," and a number of his opinions as "hooliganistic."

Begun's books (which appear regularly) are mercilessly and justly criticized by experts, but these assessments are unknown to the mass reader. These assessments were read out at the court hearings and examples of flagrant scientific unscrupulousness were cited, and I watched to see how the Pamyat members who packed the courtroom would react to all this. There was not a shadow of a doubt in their eyes—everything happening was entirely in keeping with the story of "enemy reprisals" against a courageous scientist and fighter against "world evil." The court, by not upholding the "fighter's" suit, further reinforced their certainty that "they have it all sewn up." "World evil" triumphed before their very eyes, their fists were firmly clenched with the effort of restraining their indignation, and the bearded individual in the front row threatened the people's court with God's court....

What, pray, is going on?

And how can you convince someone of something when he has closed his eyes and stopped his ears firmly? How can you argue with someone like that?

The critic Vladimir Bondarenko, in the journal MOSKVA, lamented that Pamyat was not given the opportunity to speak out publicly and defend its views in open debate. Well, I hope he watched the program on Moscow television from the ZIL Palace of Culture and is now satisfied. But what about the inhabitants of other cities and villages, who may also think that Pamyat's leaders have some kind of shining ideas and actions that are concealed by malicious ill-wishers?

A well-known Siberian writer addressed the congress of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture in Gorkiy. At the time, in July 1987, I read a transcript of his speech, and now it is reproduced practically verbatim in the first issue of NASH SOVREMENNİK.

"...Look how smoothly, resorting to vile insinuations, distortions, eavesdropping, and spying—methods borrowed not from our own country's practice—the leftward-leading press attacked the unfortunate Pamyat. No natural disaster, no crime, no tragedy has yet provoked such attention, if you can call 'bombardment' attention. Aha, you people in Pamyat, you are looking for scapegoats, you call yourselves patriots—you are Black Hundreders.... People who are sincerely, if naively, concerned about the motherland's fate are hastily and peremptorily painted in political and nationalist black...."

Unfortunately the problem is not that Pamyat is looking for scapegoats, but that it has long since found them—once and for all, for every eventuality. To see this, you only have to listen to things like this:

...In secret conspiracy, the enemy built the subway in Moscow (so as to be able to blow up all the state institutions at an agreed moment)!... The enemy organized ubiquitous drunkenness, and now they are opposing the introduction of temperance laws!... The enemy destroyed the orthodox churches!... The enemy invented rock music!... The enemy showed our children the damaging, corrupting (that is why they showed it) movie "Adventures of Tom Sawyer"!...

Incidentally, whereas the writer only speculated with irritation about some kind of "special team" detailed to "bombard" the unfortunate Pamyat, his proteges spoke out far more clearly (still in that same "Appeal to Patriots..."). Enumerating Soviet publications (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, IZVESTIYA, OGONEK, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA...), the authors of the "document" added that it was "no accident" that Pamyat was also spoken of disapprovingly by THE WASHINGTON POST, the Voice of America, and the BBC. The conclusion drawn is that it is quite obvious that the signal to begin this

massive attack was given from one center.... What a dreadful thought! We now have to add to the list of "unmasked agents" PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA....

It is not without a rather uncomfortable feeling that I now name the writer who so angrily denounced the "leftward-leaning press." It was Valentin Grigoryevich Rasputin, author of some fine books, a writer loved and respected by the people, an impassioned fighter for nature conservation who has done so much, in particular, to save Baykal. IZVESTIYA has often given him a platform for his honest, trenchant, and always unbiased articles.

It is therefore all the more important, it seems to us, to speak frankly today about our disagreement with Rasputin on the question of Pamyat.... His speech gave its leaders a pretext for invoking the writer's name in and out of context and representing him as a supporter. And not only him...

The people in black t-shirts (incidentally, was that color chosen for show?) solemnly proclaimed their intention to "assert the way of life that is the essence of the nation." First, the terminology itself appears to be "borrowed not from our own country's practice," and second, it is worth asking **which** nation Pamyat has in mind. And does Pamyat plan to assert its cherished "way of life" over the entire territory of the multinational Russian Federation, even among the Karelians, Buryats, Tatars, Karachayevtsy, Kalmyks, Nivkhy, and Yukagirs?... If so, then perhaps we should be asking ourselves: Is this the "patriotism" that is so emotionally welcomed?

Vasily Osipovich Klyuchevskiy, a man whom probably no one could bring himself to accuse of a lack of patriotism, once wrote: "National pride is a cultural stimulus that human culture can do without. National self-opinionatedness, like national self-disparagement, is only a substitute for the people's self-awareness. It is necessary to seek the true good, real self-awareness, without the involvement of such dubious motivations...."

But at present it is "dubious motivations" and "substitutes for the people's self-awareness" that Pamyat is cultivating particularly assiduously. "National self-opinionatedness" generally develops into the open preaching of national exclusivity: In the guise of "jingoistic" phraseology intermingled with vows of fidelity (well, of course!) to restructuring, we find frank speculation on what are far from the most enlightened human feelings. And believe me, you would be dumbfounded if you found yourself in the packed auditoriums where people go as if they were going to some kind of "dive," to listen to inflammatory speeches and appeals from demagogues.

In the wise fairytale by Shvarts, a knight who has liberated a city from a dragon suddenly realizes that the battle is far from over, that he still has to "kill the dragon" in the soul of every one of the liberated citizens, and that this is a long, painstaking job, trickier than embroidery....

For too long we were full of rosy optimism ("the Soviet person drinks in internationalism with his mother's milk"), but it turns out that it was naive to count wholly on "milk" alone. This was confirmed quite clearly by the events in Kazakhstan, Yakutia, and the Baltic region.

Unfortunately Pamyat is not simply a little group of hysterical women, although it would, of course, be far more reassuring to pretend it was. All the same, it is better to acknowledge in sober terms that it arose from fairly serious causes, social and economic, and that Pamyat expresses the sentiments of a certain (albeit small, I am sure) group of the population, in particular those who, among other things, find it hard to handle the reassessment of what were regarded only yesterday as immutable truths, who are plunged into confusion and even panic by this reassessment. Life now raises many unpleasant questions for us all, questions to which it is both difficult and painful to find the answers. That is why the Pamyat volunteers seize on the soothing idea of "enemy machinations." It is so easy to attribute every ill to them—from the "uneconomical" economy to drunkenness!...

That is an exceptionally dangerous idea. Let us recall, for instance, that the repressions of 1937-1938 were made possible not least because of precisely these sentiments, which were deliberately introduced and encouraged. I realize that drawing such parallels is a serious matter, but we should not forget it when we hear the cries of "Tallyho!" that ring out ever more loudly at Pamyat meetings.

There is something else that should also be mentioned. Before our very eyes a kind of fashion is springing up for informal organizations, and some people seem to regard the very fact of their emergence as a resolute step along the path of democratization. Before much longer the bureaucrats themselves will start including the informal associations in their reports and planning their growth...

And how much scum rises to the crest of this wave!...

Strictly speaking, we should not be afraid of this, but we should take into account the real danger of substituting fine talk on a topical theme for creative initiative "from below." This does not apply to Pamyat or the factors which gave rise to it, but it is, so to speak, "closely related"...

To be fair, I must say that it is not only the Pamyat activists who are "blowing on the coals." We remember how the so-called "refuseniks" "demonstrated" at Ostankino. Cameramen from Western companies who

had been warned beforehand were glued to the viewfinders of their cameras, while in the Ostankino studio the last preparations were being completed for the television linkup between USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and American senators. There, outside, you could hear hysterical demands to "have nothing to do with the Soviets," not to trust "them".... What did the participants in the "demonstration" want? It was a case of frank speculation objectively working against glasnost and against restructuring in the country where all these people were born and raised and which they were planning to leave so lightheartedly....

Incidentally, the organizer of the Ostankino demonstration, Iosif Begun (by an irony of fate, the namesake of Begun from Minsk, the "impassioned" fighter against Zionism), also took the same newspaper to court, accusing it of unbridled anti-Semitism.... I almost wrote: Opposite extremes come together. But that is not quite right—there is only one "extreme" here, one common trend: to use glasnost and restructuring for the sake of personal or group interests, to accumulate on this basis a certain stock of fame, and to hell with everything else. You could hardly think of anything more damaging to what is new in our life.

IZVESTIYA is today analyzing the "activity" of the so-called association Pamyat for the second time. When we published the article "Where Pamyat leads" last June, we thought it was only a matter of a group of irresponsible babblers and were convinced that the vulnerability of their "positions" was obvious to everyone.

Time has shown that we are not dealing simply with people who are excessively concerned to gain popularity for themselves by any means, however noisy and extravagant. No, we are dealing with an attempt to give a quite specific ideological coloring to the times we live in. Pamyat is quite consciously playing with very dangerous things. And unfortunately, as we have seen, even certain scientists, writers, and representatives of the intelligentsia are prepared to indulge it.

Basically we are only taking the first steps along the path of democratizing our society, a long and difficult path lies ahead, and there are people who do not at all like the idea of it. Even now some people are shouting (some gleefully, some anxiously): "Look! See what permissiveness leads to!..." The conclusion in the subtext is: Leave everything as it was, leave us where we were....

We cannot stay "as we were." But our restructuring must know how to defend itself, and perhaps we should not develop on extremists and provocateurs, whatever garb they may don, our sense of tolerance toward another person's opinion, even if it is different from ours or from what is generally accepted. As it has been said: Lies cannot be regarded as a **viewpoint** or deliberate slander as an **opinion**. Yet Pamyat is constantly carrying out this elementary substitution of concepts.

So what is to be done?

First and foremost, we must learn to distinguish between the two.

Economic

Public Discusses Draft Law on Cooperatives

'Novel Elements' of Openness

LD101434 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT
10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—The Draft Law on Cooperative Societies published by Soviet newspapers last Sunday is the first major document of state importance submitted for the consideration of the public after the Law on the Nationwide Discussion of Important Problems Connected With the Life of the State was adopted in 1987.

Major documents were discussed in this country earlier as well. However, the law introduced some novel elements.

According to Yuriy Korlev, head of a department of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the present discussion is different from previous ones in many ways. To begin with, under the new law all the observations and proposals without exception will be discussed. A special procedure was worked out for this purpose. Everyone can submit his observations connected with the law under discussion to any state body or public organization. All of them will be forwarded to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Now local government bodies not just collect and generalize views of citizens on the problem discussed, but actively help them to take part in the discussion and organize meetings for this purpose.

There is one more important element in the procedure. Earlier permanent deputies' commissions also discussed draft laws before submitting them for the consideration of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Now they will analyze them together with materials of the nationwide discussion. Thus, the draft law submitted by commissions for the consideration of a session of Soviet parliament will take into account observations and proposals of citizens.

Those are the rules which will be applied for the first time during the discussion of the Draft Law on Cooperative Societies. It is expected to be submitted for discussion and subsequent adoption at the coming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet due to be held in the first half of the current year.

IZVESTIYA Readers Indignant

PM101335 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 88
Morning Edition p 3

["Reading the Mail" feature by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA deputy editor for the letters department: "Once Again About Cooperatives"]

[Text] The mail about cooperatives and individual labor activity divides into two unequal parts. I will begin with the bigger one.

Letters are full of indignation, anger, and insulting remarks about "private operators" and serious accusations against those "who allowed all this to happen."

"By introducing individual and cooperative labor activity in conditions of developed socialism, we are taking two steps backward," L. Verkhoglyad (Moscow) is convinced. "Money at any price, this is the goal of the cooperatives," A. Tarasov from Sevastopol believes. "What do we need newfound millionaires for?"—Yu. Chekmenev from Ulan-Ude asks. "What do you think I, a sovkhos tractor driver earning R2-3 per day during repairs, feel like when I read that somewhere a dealer who makes bra fasteners makes R100 a day?"—N. Yelkin from Rostov Oblast's Semikarakorskiy Rayon vents his indignation. "Not even government members earn that much!" Lisova from Odessa exclaims. "Maybe our cooperative campaign is a gesture to the West," V. Shekhovtsov writes from Shchelkino settlement in Crimea Oblast. "A stratification of society into the rich and the less well-off is under way, the living standard of individual groups of people is falling. Is our government not aware of these negative phenomena and deformations?" V. Zotkin from Leningrad asks. "The family contract in rural areas is a shortcut to bring back the kulaks, and the cooperatives in cities will lead to a revival of the bourgeoisie," I. Sigachev from Tashkent Oblast's Krasnogorskiy settlement believes, and in his mind he already sees signs like "Petrov's Diner" and "Watchmaker. Synovya and Co." appearing in the streets of our cities.

And so the main accusations leveled at the individual and cooperative sector are: incompatibility of the said forms of labor activity with the principles of socialism, excessively high—not according to labor—earnings in this sphere, and the resultant stratification of society. Are there any grounds for these accusations?

Over many, many years a suspicious, wary attitude to all types of labor outside the state enterprise was instilled in us. We even regarded kolkhoz-cooperative ownership as in some way inferior, promising to "elevate" it in the future to the level of state ownership. The accepted system of remuneration, divorced from the end results of labor, and the predominance of wage leveling meant that the craftsmanship, talent, and skills of thousands upon thousands of people were wasted. Economically accountable relations and the development of various forms of

contract work are changing the situation in the economy and are designed, in particular, to lead to higher wages and the elimination of constraints and pay "ceilings." Hand in hand with this goes the expansion of opportunities for individual and cooperative labor.

"Yes, the textbook notion of socialism engendered by the poverty of our economy and the resultant need to distribute everything—be it energy, raw materials, machines, or food—by means of ration cards, is changing," Kh. Nabokov writes from Vologda. "Scope is being provided for the development of commodity-money relations and the management of the economy in accordance with its laws. And we are shouting: Leave us in peace, give us back the past."

"Cooperatives and individual labor activity must be viewed without prejudice and we must rid ourselves of the habit of rejecting anything new out of hand," S. Shabanov writes from Tuapse. We must rid ourselves of the habit, let me add, of clapping political labels on anything new and frightening everyone with pictures of an impending degeneration of socialism.

"The return to and revival of these types of socialist economic activity can only be welcomed," Candidate of Medical Sciences I. Manoim writes from Leningrad. "After all, it is perfectly obvious that in many spheres the state sector has proved sluggish and insolvent. Anyway, it should not be expected to bear the whole burden... Naturally, new problems are bound to arise with the development of individual labor activity, including negative problems. Some are afraid that people with big incomes might emerge. However, is there not a considerable difference in the level of incomes even now? Furthermore, high incomes are by no means always earned by honest labor, and this definitely is a deviation from socialism. I am convinced that someone who works conscientiously and hard, someone who is talented and enterprising, deserves to be richer than the statistical average worker."

Reading the mail, you cannot fail to notice how eagerly we count other people's money but often fail to take into account that the labor productivity of workers in cooperatives is 3, 5, and even 10 times higher than in ordinary production. I would like to remind the critics of the favored status of cooperatives and individual labor activity that the population's deposits in savings banks now total R250 billion. What does money in savings books represent? It is postponed, unsatisfied demand. It is a mass of money which is not backed up by a mass of goods. And now an opportunity has emerged—albeit a small one—to enrich our counters with much needed everyday goods, even if some people may thereby earn big money, but we turn away in disgust.

"I am an installation worker with 23 years' experience," V. Nikitin from Dzhambul Oblast's Energetik settlement writes. "I have worked at construction sites in the North, in Siberia, and the Kara-Kumy. And the result? True,

you get paid well, but besides vodka there is nothing you can buy with your money. All stores at remote construction sites are run by the Worker Supply Department and the clothes that are sold are simply hideous. Recently I and my friends spent a short holiday in Tashkent. We saw the goods on offer in the cooperatives. And I am not ashamed to admit that for the first time in my life I bought clothes that I actually liked. Trousers, jackets, shirts—everything fashionable, attractive, and relatively inexpensive. I am not interested in what the tailor earns, all I want is to be well dressed. However, the opponents of cooperatives are very skilled in counting up other people's money."

When, on reading this kind of admission, you start looking into the reasons for the rejection of cooperatives, you find that most often this is connected with the work of cooperatives in the sphere of public catering. People object to kebabs being sold at exorbitant prices "as if by passing under the grill they had been gilded." (A. Ivashin, Zaporozhye). Cooperatives of all kinds are operating in the country: cooperatives for the construction and repair of housing, procurement of agricultural produce, teaching of computer literacy and provision of information, the organization of concert and performing arts activity, and household gadget repairs. Yet the letter writers assess the cooperative movement on the basis of an encounter with a kebab or cotton candy seller in the bazaar. This is the result of a distorted view, a wrong picture in public consciousness of what workers in the individual labor and cooperative sphere can do and what they actually do.

It is true, of course, that the cat-shaped money boxes, photographs of girls with big biceps, and other curios available at market stalls are an embarrassment. "However, every good cause attracts undesirable elements" (V. Bokov, Smolensk Oblast). Can they be dealt with? "By means of different tax rates favorable conditions could be created for cooperatives which offer vitally important services, cooperatives, for instance, which build summerhouses or carry out housing repairs, and so forth," N. Poluektov from Moscow suggests very sensibly. "Differentiated deductions from profit will sort everything out, including the pay of cooperative members," V. Slastin from Nakhodka believes.

Many readers complain that the cooperative prices are exorbitant. What can be done? A. Nikitenkov from Magadan demands that local authorities draw up a price list. Yu. Plyusnin from Pionerskiy city in Kaliningrad Oblast voices the same demand. However, attempts at administrative price regulation are pointless, as we well know from our rich experience. N. Poluektov, who writes that the cooperatives must be given the greatest freedom and made to work in conditions of tough competition, is much closer to the truth. Because at the moment "some cooperatives are turning into monopoly producers, much more so than state enterprises. They dictate conditions, inflate prices, and obtain undeserved profit." The way out of this situation is the expansion of

the network of rival cooperatives and the improvement of the work of state enterprises which produce the same goods or offer the same services.

Another accusation must be mentioned. "The cooperatives will damage the state sector," Yu. Shaferov from Tashkent believes, "because they will siphon off efficient and energetic cadres and good specialists and will introduce mercenary motives into the moral atmosphere."

Is there a real danger of cadres being siphoned from one sphere to the other? There are only 13,000 cooperatives in the country at the moment, and just over 300,000 people engage in individual labor activity. This is very little for a country like ours. "More and more people must be drawn into this work," Yu. Flerov from Sverdlovsk believes. Especially if you take into account that there is overstaffing at many, if not most, enterprises and institutions. We have started seriously discussing effective employment of the population, which, incidentally, presupposes releasing 16 million people by the year 2000. It is envisaged that many of them will take up work in the service sphere or will engage in the production of consumer goods, including in the cooperative and individual labor sector.

One last point. I, like the readers, am still largely dissatisfied with the work of the cooperatives and the quality of their services, and I view with suspicion the greed and the search for easy money which threaten to undermine confidence in the individual worker almost before it emerges. But I absolutely cannot accept the appeal sent in by the Kravtsov family from Voroshilovgrad: "The cooperatives are not for us. It is time to stop."

Aganbegyan Views Restructuring of Management
AU101738 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 9 Mar 88 p 1

[Interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan, secretary of the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by TRUD correspondent Raycho Radulov, in Moscow: "The New Economic Mechanism—New Management Methods"—date not given]

[Text] [Radulov] In several public statements you have used the expression "economic leaders of the old type." What do you mean by this?

[Aganbegyan] I am thinking of those economic leaders who have become accustomed to work using bureaucratic methods, taking orders from above, and to continuing to use these methods if they have the chance. They find them more convenient, because they do not need to make independent decisions. In actual fact, self-management grants them rights also, but they willingly give them up, solely to avoid the associated responsibilities. There are a considerable number of these people.

[Radulov] Statistics show that the economic leaders are not particularly well paid, but nonetheless the opinion exists that they do not deserve the money they receive. Do you share this view?

[Aganbegyan] Yes and no. You can see how many "semi-managerial" staff members in enterprises and institutions spend the whole day on senseless telephone calls, smoking, and endless tea drinking. For such people, whatever money they are paid is too much. Yet at the same time leaders of collectives with many thousands of people receive around R300. This is unfair and inadmissible. The socialist principle "To each according to his labor" is also valid for the economic leaders.

[Radulov] What is the main element in the restructuring of the economy?

[Aganbegyan] The main thing is to extend the rights of the enterprises. The question arises, however, at whose expense? How many administrative units exist that do nothing else but "pass on down" the decisions transmitted to them "from above"? You will find it difficult to convince them that they are superfluous. The leader in such units has grown used to leading by means of meetings and the telephone and has become accustomed to the benefits from such managerial work, and no one can make him think in a different way. It is clear that we must rid ourselves of such "leaderships," however painful this process may be.

[Radulov] Do you support the view that the system of management is directly related to the economic mechanism in force?

[Aganbegyan] Yes. A look back in history will confirm it.

During the Civil War and the intervention period, military command methods were unavoidable. The very fact that the Bolsheviks succeeded in holding power proves that military communism stood the test of time.

In the period of restoration, this system became unnecessary. It was necessary to introduce commodity-money relationships to develop the workers' initiative on the basis of these relationships. The economic mechanism of the New Economic Policy met this requirement most aptly.

During the industrialization period and the Great Patriotic War the administrative methods of government by order and decree also justified their existence, for these were clearly essential to mobilize and concentrate the efforts of all the people. After victory, the application of the same mechanism gave rise to a great number of economic failures.

The results of the period of stagnation are well known. The chief losses lie not so much in the system of material production (although these were far from small), as in the moral field. People used to say one thing, but do

something completely different. The November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee marked the beginning of the restorative processes in the life of society. However, just as before, the administrative methods of management gained the upper hand, and this led to breakdowns. It became clear that radical changes were needed in the methods for managing the economy.

[Radulov] Can it be said that the postulates adopted recently are the "ultimate truth"?

[Aganbegyan] Not in the least. Even for the sole reason that we have had a taste of such "ultimate truths," truths that later turned out to be run-of-the-mill nonsense. We do not harbor illusions that the radical reform that we are starting on is an ideal one. We are making the first steps, and it is difficult even to assess the first results. In the course of the work, shortcomings will first appear in a positive light that we must later correct as we move ahead. No national economic mechanism operates for all time. It is impossible to think of the economy outside of the historical circumstances.

[Radulov] What is fundamentally new in the field of planning?

[Aganbegyan] At the start of the 5-year period, the enterprise receives check figures, together with the economic norms. The check figures must not be understood as a new form of the state plan with the old content. They do not give a detailed breakdown, as is the case now with hundreds of indicators. They are not in the nature of directives, but merely serve as guidelines. Thus, the collectives and their leaders are given the opportunity to select for themselves the most efficient solution, partner, and so on.

[Radulov] Does the autonomy of the enterprise presuppose that the leadership is to be elected?

[Aganbegyan] An important question. Let us think about it together. If the state tasks are sent down "from above," as is the case with the administrative system of management, it is logical also to "send down" a man who represents the state. The system of administrative leadership cannot be divorced from the system of nominating leaders. Under full economic accountability, when the collective's wages and social program depend on results, self-management is essential. We must ask ourselves the question: "Under the new conditions, to what extent do the results depend on the director?" In my view, they depend on him a lot. This has been demonstrated in practice, and on this issue there is nothing to argue about. Accordingly, the collective election of the director is one of the levers for involving the workers in management. This is a method for controlling both production and the social programs.

[Radulov] You said in an interview that we must learn to manage by using people's interests. Would you like to explain this in more detail?

[Aganbegyan] Under the new conditions the national economic tasks must be solved by means of economic methods, which means they are to be solved in a democratic manner. The important thing here is to take account of the interests of the people, and for the workers to become the managers of the means of production in practice. Economic methods that conflict with the interests of the workers are impossible. The supporters of the idea of radical changes in the economy believe that the new economic mechanism and management system are a unique form of compromise between the thesis concerning an immediate and revolutionary change in leadership methods and the thesis of evolutionary development. I am inclined to agree with these theses. One must take into account the great responsibility assumed in adopting every radical decision. Maybe the present decisions are not as radical as we might like, but we should not forget that every wrong step in restructuring the economic mechanism and its leadership will lead to billions of rubles of losses. Even a mighty state like our own cannot allow this. In the course of the work, things will be revised, adjusted, and dealt with in greater depth. The important thing is that we have a clear enough program for action in management restructuring. And we are already at a new stage—moving from drafting work toward action.

Job Satisfaction Survey Analyzed

PM100953 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 88
Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "No Job Satisfaction..."]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has generalized the information obtained as a result of an opinion poll of 18,000 workers and employees at enterprises in 5 industrial sectors on a number of social questions, including the question of job satisfaction. The poll was carried out at 374 ferrous metallurgy, machine tool building and instrument making, motor vehicle, textile, and food industry enterprises of the RSFSR, Belorussia, Kirgizia, and Estonia. The survey revealed that more than 60 percent of those polled are not fully satisfied with their jobs.

It is difficult to evaluate this figure.

Is a sergeant who has been taught to think that he is carrying a marshal's baton in his knapsack happy with his job?

Can a person who has been taught to think that he is a small cog (albeit a very good cog) in our economic mechanism be happy with his job?

Personally, I found the results of the investigation (both the statistical investigation and my own) disappointing. If a person is happy with himself and with his job, then that is the end of it. He cannot improve...

But let us return to the statistical report. Only 35 percent of those polled said that they were satisfied with their jobs; 54 percent were not entirely satisfied; 8 percent were dissatisfied; and 3 percent found it difficult to say.

What specifically are people unhappy about?

Dissatisfaction with wages takes pride of place. Then comes labor and production organization, and the sanitary and hygiene conditions and facilities.

The automotive industry has the smallest number of people satisfied with their work—28 percent. Then comes the machine tool building and instrument making industry (30 percent), ferrous metallurgy (32 percent), and textile industry (37 percent). Our splendid food industry workers have the highest job satisfaction indicator—40 percent!

Job satisfaction, the State Committee for Statistics report notes, is highest among production pacesetters. Among those polled, 38 percent of those who exceed plan targets were satisfied with their jobs, compared with only 17 percent of those who fail to fulfill the plan. One of the key factors which stimulate the fulfillment of production targets is a well organized system of material incentives. However, the investigation revealed that substantial shortcomings exist in this sphere. Many incentives do not depend directly on the fulfillment of production targets. Thus among those polled, 67 percent of people who failed to meet production targets had received various kinds of incentives in the course of the year...

Wage leveling... You remember how critically this question was raised at the February Central Committee Plenum. It was noted that to this day many people receive wages simply for putting in an appearance at work and that they occupy posts without their real labor input being taken into account. Essentially, it was noted at the plenum, wage leveling has a destructive effect not only on the economy, but also on the moral climate and on people's entire way of thinking and behavior. It reduces the prestige of conscientious and creative labor, weakens discipline, stifles interest in improving one's qualifications, and detracts from competitiveness and rivalry in work. Wage leveling is a reflection of petty bourgeois views which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism. And we will not progress, we will not be able to cope with the tasks of restructuring, unless we completely eradicate all notions of leveling everywhere that they still persist.

Alas, such notions still persist in many places. Take, for instance, the relatively simple question of switching industrial enterprise staff to new wage and salary rates. Why relatively simple? Because the decision to this effect was adopted a long time ago. And second, because people will be more willing to combine two trades and increase their personal labor productivity if they are rewarded for this accordingly.

Corresponding amendments have been made to labor legislation which authorize collectives to institute labor, social, and housing benefits for their workers from their own resources (see commentary by Doctor of Legal Sciences Professor R.Z. Livshits, IZVESTIYA No. 50).

However, these rights are being exercised very timidly. Here is another report of the State Committee for Statistics. Within the current 5-year plan, 69,665,000 people are to be switched to the new conditions of labor remuneration, 20,543,000 of them in 1987. By 1 January 1988 only 26,080,000 or 37.4 percent had been switched...

Meanwhile experience of work in the new conditions has shown that many enterprises have managed to considerably improve their basic production indicators. And labor productivity growth has outstripped wage increases.

Thus at the Vyksa Metallurgical Combine (Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy) the labor productivity growth rate last year totaled 116.1 percent in comparison with 1986, while basic production staff wages increased by 103.7 percent. The corresponding figures at the "Uralkaliy" Production Association (Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers) were 108.5 percent and 105.2 percent, and at the "Polimer" Production Association (Ministry of the Chemical Industry) 116.9 percent and 105.2 percent.

What prevents other collectives from making use of this experience? After all, this immediately removes one of the main causes (according to the State Committee for Statistics report) of people's dissatisfaction with their work.

Laziness. Old stereotypes of economic thinking. Lack of understanding of the essence and the tasks of restructuring.

And even a lack of understanding of the fact that it is not the "upper echelons" which judge the work of economic managers now, but the "grassroots." The labor collective.

Scientific

Nine 'Cosmos' Satellites Launched Into Orbit

'Cosmos-1923' on 10 Mar

LD101405 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1351 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (TASS)—The launch of the latest artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1923", was carried out in the Soviet Union today. Scientific apparatus intended for continuing space research is installed on board the satellite.

The satellite has been put into orbit with the parameters: initial period of revolution—89.5 minutes; maximum distance from the earth's surface—332 kilometers; minimum distance from the earth's surface—205 kilometers; inclination of orbit 72.8 degrees.

The apparatus installed on the satellite is working normally.

'Cosmos-1924' to 'Cosmos-1931'

LD110932 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT
11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—The artificial earth satellites Cosmos-1924, Cosmos-1925, Cosmos-1926, Cosmos-1927, Cosmos-1928, Cosmos-1929, Cosmos-1930 and Cosmos-1931 were launched in the Soviet Union Today. They were put into orbit by a single carrier rocket.

Scientific equipment is installed on board the satellites which is intended for the continuation of space exploration.

All the eight satellites are moving along the orbits which are close to calculated ones. Their initial parameters are as follows:

Period of revolution—115 minutes,

Maximum distance from the earth's surface (in the apogee)—1,508 km,

Minimum distance from the earth's surface (in the perigee)—1,445 km.

inclination of the orbit—74 degrees.

Apart from scientific equipment, the satellites carry on board radio systems for the accurate measurement of elements of the orbit and radiotelemetric systems for beaming to the earth information on the functioning of instruments and scientific equipment.

The equipment installed on board the satellites functions normally. The coordination and computer centre is processing the incoming information.

Kazakh Academy of Sciences Elects New President

LD101953 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 10 Mar 86

[Text] Alma-Ata March 10 TASS—At today's session of the general meeting of the National Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan, a Soviet republic in Asia, Academician Umirzak Sultangazin, 51, director of the Institute of Mathematics and Mechanics of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences, was elected the academy's president. Earlier the post had been filled by Academician Murat Aitkhozhin who died in December last year.

Umirzak Sultangazin has been heading the Institute of Mathematics and Mechanics of the National Academy of Sciences since 1980. The scientist was awarded the 1987 state prize of the USSR in the field of science for a cycle of works "The Development of Mathematical Methods of the Particles Transfer Theory".

Since 1986 Umirzak Sultangazin has been the academy's vice president and chairman of the Council for Automation, Computing Engineering and Scientific Instrument making under the presidium of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences.